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Ph. D.

1954

(Ancient Indian History)



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T H E I N D O - G R E E K S .

(A N U M I S M A T I C A N D H I S T O R I C A L S T U D Y)

BY

A . K . N A R A I N .

[AWADH KISHORE NARAIN]

School of Oriental & African
Studies.

Thesis Submitted For

Examination For The Degree Of Doctor Of Philosophy
at the

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

1954

ABSTRACT

(CH. I)

The Indo-Greeks or the Yavanas were not all hellenistic Greeks settled by Alexander and the Seleucids; They consisted also of earlier settlers, who were anti-Macedonian~~x~~ and who had probably mixed with the Iranians. Their history must be studied against two backgrounds : the aftermath of Alexander's invasion and the fall of the Mauryan Empire.

(CH. II)

Their rise to power was the result of a revolt by Diodotus I. the~~x~~ consolidation of their kingdom was achieved by Euthydemus I and his son Demetrius I. The far reaching conquests in India claimed for Demetrius I are rejected and an attempt is made to show that the Demetrius who is said to have conquered India by the Western Classical sources was probably second Demetrius who struck bilingual coins.

(CH. III)

The extension of Yavana Power in the Paropamisadae and Gandhāra^{Pantaleon and} was made by Antimachus I, his successor Demetrius II, /Agathocles . Eucratides successfully rebelled and annexed much of their ~~in~~ kingdom. He was not related to the Seleucid Antiochus IV . The Joint-king who murdered Eucratides I was possibly Plato. There is no proof of the existence of Apollodotus I .

(CH. IV)

The climax of the Yavana Power was reached during the reign of Menander, the greatest of the Yavana kings. The actual extent of his kingdom in India is discussed and due importance is given to the

existence of regional Indian Powers in Madhyadeśa. The evidence of the Yuga-purāṇa is analysed, and several hitherto accepted views are rejected. The Yavana kingdom at its climax did not extend beyond the Rāvī.

(CH. V)

The kings after Eucratides and Menander are divided into groups on the basis of their coin-types and are dealt with the help of the geographical distribution of coins and the use of common monograms. The discussion of Apollodotus is continued to show that there was only one king of this name. A gap of fifteen years is proposed in the long reign of Strato I.

(CH. VI)

It has been shown that three distinct peoples, the Śakas, the Pahlavas and the Yüeh-chih, overthrew the Yavana Power from three ~~different~~ different directions at different times,. Their movements are clearly distinguished. The Yüeh-chih finally occupied Bactria proper much later than 129-28 B.C., and there was a long gap between Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises.

Three Appendices, five plates and three Maps and ~~a~~ a select Bibliography are included.

THE INDO - GREEKS.

A NUMISMATIC AND HISTORICAL
STUDY.

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P R E F A C E .

The importance of a story is not always proportionate to the amount of material which has survived about it. In the early part of the 18th. century two Bactrian coins were found and suggested to Theophilus Bayer the plan of his work, "Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani" published at St. Petersburg in 1738. And exactly two hundred years later in 1938 appeared the monumental work of Dr. (now Sir) William Tarn, "The Greeks in Bactria ~~and~~ India", of which a second edition came out in 1951. The history of the Indo-Greeks is in itself a long story of arduous research and no work can be done without paying due credit to the investigations of James Prinsep, C. Lassen, H. H. Wilson, Alexander Cunningham, Percy Gardner, H. G. Rawlinson, E. J. Rapson, Sir John Marshall, R. B. Whitehead & John Allan and many others. This work ventures only to follow in their footsteps and it is mainly a result of a study of their works. But we have also been fortunate in getting fresh information which has given some strength to our conclusions. Especially noteworthy are the discovery of a hoard of Indo-Greek coins from Kunduz lying unnoticed in the Kabul Museum until it was rediscovered by A. D. H. Bivar and brought to light; the publication by Daniel Schlumberger of an account of a remarkable treasure found in Mir Zakah, of coins of the Indo-Greeks and their successors ; and the discovery of a new Ms. of the Yuga-purāṇa used by

D.R.Mankad. We have also been rewarded in checking up old Sale Catalogues which gave us some coin-types hitherto ignored by scholars. Our re-examination of some passages of the Western Classical sources also brought about unexpected results. Similarly, the Chinese evidence has thrown striking new light on the problems of Yavana history which is bound to affect even the later periods of Indian history.

It will be difficult for anything to be written now and in ~~fm~~ future on the Indo-Greeks without making a thorough reading of Sir William's book, the close packed pages of which will probably produce a library. Scholars must be forever grateful to him for the service he has done both to Classical and Oriental learning by his wonderful work. His magic style conjures ^{up} before us a splendid picture of the achievements of the Yavanas in India, and skilful advocacy adds force to his judgements. Though the evidence now does not permit us to draw a picture on the lines of that of Sir William Tarn, nevertheless he has provided an essential basis for our research.

The ~~x~~ reconstruction of the history of the Indo-Greeks is primarily based on numismatic evidence, and naturally much stress has been given to it, but very important conclusions have been strengthened also by an analysis of the literary sources. Yet certainties are not many and surmises have to be made. But they have been made with caution and we do not put ~~xxx~~ forward our hypotheses dogmatically. This is an attempt to reconstruct the political history of the Yavanas ; the

cultural side has not been discussed. In one Appendix the term Yavana has been examined and in another the relevant passages of the Yugapurāṇa have been analysed and re-edited. In the third Appendix a list of the coin-types, published and unpublished, has been prepared.

I would express my sincere gratitude and affection to Dr. A.L. Basham without whose help, guidance and encouragement the thesis would not have been possible ; in fact it was his painstaking care and unfailing counsel which gave me strength to complete my investigations. I am deeply indebted to Dr. R.B.Whitehead for the very keen interest he took in my work from beginning to the end, and for allowing me to learn from his wide experience of numismatic studies ; his kindness and support have been invaluable to me. I am also grateful to Professor E.H.Warmington and Mr. A.G.Way for helping me to read and understand the implications of the Western Classical sources. I am much indebted to Professor Kazuo Enoki for his ungrudging help in reading the Chinese sources and translating afresh the relevant passages for me. I am very thankful to Mr. G.K.Jenkins and Mr. A.D.H. Bivar for their unselfish generosity in making available to me new materials which have not as yet been published.* I would here also thank and pay my respects to Professor H.W.Bailey for his valuable suggestions. I thank Dr. John Walker, the Keeper of Coins and Medals in the British Museum and also the Keepers of the Fitzwilliam and

*
P.S. Bivar's report on the Kunduz Hoard has now ~~x~~ been published in Spink's Numismatic Circular, May, 1954.

Ashmolean Museums , and Major General H.L.Haughton and Mr.H.de S.Shortt for giving me all facilities to study coins in their collections. And I am grateful to many others who gave me different kinds of help, advice and encouragement. I cannot complete this list without paying my due respects tp Professor A.S.Altekar, who encouraged me to take up this work five years ago, and at whose instance I began collecting the materials in India.

Altekar

ABBREVIATIONS.

- AIU. The Age of Imperial Unity
Ed. by R.C.Majumdar and A.D.Pusalkar. Bombay. 1951
- Altheim. Altheim : Weltgeschichte Asiens im griechischen Zeitalter
2 vols. Halle. 1947, 1948
- ASR Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India.
- BM . British Museum.
- BMC. A Catalogue of ~~Greek~~ Indian Coins in the British Museum,
The Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria. London, 1886
- BMC.Ancient India. A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Coins
of Ancient India. London. 1936
- BMC.Parthia. A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum,
Coins of Parthia. London. 1903
- BMC.Seleucid. A Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum, Seleucid
Kings. London. 1878
- BSOS. Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.
- BSOAS. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
- CAH. Cambridge Ancient History.
- CASE. Coins Of Alexander's Successors in the East. by A.
Cunningham. London, 1884
- CHI. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. ed. E.J.Rapson,
Cambridge. 1922
- CII. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II. part. I. Kharosthi
Inscriptions. by Sten Konow. Calcutta. 1929.
- Ep.Ind. Epigraphia Indica.
- ESM. The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints. by E.T.Newell,
New York. 1941
- Gutschmid. Von A Gutschmid : Geschichte Irans.... . Tubingen 1888
- Hirth. The Story of Chang-Kien..... JAOS .1917.pp.89 ff.

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<u>IA.</u>	Indian Antiquary.
<u>IC.</u>	Indian Culture.
<u>IHQ.</u>	Indian Historical Quarterly.
<u>JA.</u>	Journal Asiatique.
<u>JAOS.</u>	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
<u>JASB.</u>	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
<u>JBBRAS.</u>	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
<u>JBORS.</u>	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
<u>JBRs.</u>	Journal of the Bihar Research Society.
<u>JHS.</u>	Journal of the Hellenistic Society.
<u>JIH.</u>	Journal of Indian History.
<u>JNSI.</u>	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
<u>JRAS.</u>	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
<u>JUPHS.</u>	Journal of the Uttar Pradesh (formerly the United Provinces) Historical Society.
<u>MASI</u> , <u>NC,</u>	<i>Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.</i> Numismatic Chronicle.
<u>NIA.</u>	New Indian Antiquary.
<u>NNM.</u>	Numismatic Notes and Monographs of the American Numismatic Society.
<u>NS.</u>	Numismatic Supplement to <u>JASB.</u>
Phr. <u>PHAI.</u>	Phr. H.C.Raychaudhuri : Political History of Ancient India. 6th. edn. Calcutta. 1953
<u>PMC.</u>	Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore, Vol. I. Indo Greek Coins.
Schlumberger.	R.Curiel & D.Schlumberger, Trésors Monétaires d'Afghanistan. Paris. 1953

- Tarn. W.W.Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India. Cambridge.1951
- Trever. K.B.Trever, Pamyatniki Greko-Baktriyskogo Iskusstva. Moscow & Leningrad. 1940
- Von Sallet. Von A. Sallet : Die Nachfolger Alexanders* des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien. Berlin. 1879
- WSM. The Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints. by E.T.Newell, New York. 1941
- Wylie. A.Wylie, Notes on the Western Regions, Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
- ZDMG. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.

Abbreviations used in the Description of Coin-types.

A	Gold.
Ⓐ	Silver.
Æ	Copper.
l.	left .
Ⓝ	Nickel .
Obv.	Obverse .
r.	right.
Rev.	Reverse.

CHAPTER I.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

There are few episodes in history as remarkable as ~~that of~~ the story of the Indo-Greeks, and even fewer the problems of which are so fascinating. These Indo-Greeks were called Yavana¹ in ancient Indian literature. They were regarded by the law books² and epics³ as degenerate Kṣatriyas, and were considered to be of Indian origin, the descendents of Turvasu.⁴ But their names alone are sufficient to prove that they were foreigners.⁵

It is clear from inscriptions of Darius I that the word Yauna or Ia-ma-nu (-ma was actually pronounced as -va, hence Ia-va-nu), the name of the Ionians of Asia Minor who were conquered by Cyrus in 545 B.C., was applied to all Greeks without distinction.⁶ The Hebrew word 'Yawān' (Javan) was also originally the designation of the Ionians, but it gradually came to be used for the whole Greek race, and the ethnic name denoted also a political entity.⁷ The term Yavana may well

-
1. It had a precise meaning until quite a ~~well~~ time into the Christian era, when gradually its original significance was lost and like the word Mleccha it degenerated into a general term for a foreigner.
cf. Appendix I. pp. 264-70
 2. Manu . X. 43-44
 3. Mahabharata (Śāntiparva), XII, 300 ; Harivaṃśa, XIII, 763-64, 775-83
 4. Mahabharata, I. 80. 26. " Yadostu Yadava jātasturvaryavanah sutah."
 5. CHI., p. 540
 6. R.G.Kent, Old Persian, p. 204 ; CHI. loc.cit.
 7. C.C.Torrey, JAOS . XXV. pp. 302-11

have been first applied by the Indians to the Greeks of various cities of Asia Minor who were settled in the areas contiguous to North-west India.¹

It has recently been suggested² that these Indo-Greeks or Yavanas were the people who were settled in these areas by Alexander and his Seleucid successors. This is not only a narrow definition but one which does not agree with the evidence.

The date of Pāṇini, the Sanskrit grammarian, is still controversial, but it has been suggested³ that he should be dated in the middle of the fifth century B.C.³; undoubtedly, in the general consensus of the scholarly opinion, he is placed much before Alexander.⁴ He was an inhabitant of Salātura in the vicinity of Takṣaśilā. In his Aṣṭādhyāyī, he states that the feminine form of Yavana is Yavanānī.⁵ This latter form according to Kātyāyana⁶ denoted the Greek writing - Yavanāllipyām; and this is paraphrased by Patañjali⁷ as - Yavanāllipyām iti vaktavyam Yavanānī lipiḥ. It is reasonable to suppose that Pāṇini knew of their script, that his knowledge of the Yavanas was not mere hearsay, and

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1. R.L.Mitra, JASB, 1874, p. 279, considered that it denoted a geographical term rather than an ethnical. Cf. also, infra, pp. 264-70 Appendix :
 2. Tarn, cf. ~~xxx~~ generally the whole of & his Chapter I and also pp. 118-25
 3. V.S.Agrawala, India as known to Pāṇini, Lucknow, 1953., p. 475
 4. Cf. CHI, p. 540; Keith, A History of Sanskrit Literature, Oxford, 1928 p. 426; Max Muller, A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 521 (London 1857); Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, I., p. 42 (Calcutta 1927); Hannes Skold, Papers on Pāṇini, p. 24
 5. Pāṇini, 4.1.49
 6. Varttika 3 on Pāṇini 4.1.49. Some scholars consider Kātyāyana a contemporary of Pāṇini (Max Müller) and some consider him later (Kwīth)
 7. Patañjali's time is generally taken to be middle of the Second cent. B.C.

that the people known by this name may well have inhabited some area near his homeland.¹ Like other early Indian sources Pāṇini associated the Yavanas with the Kambojas.² He may even have seen the 'shaven headed' Yavanas and Kambojas,³ who were probably known as such because, unlike the Indians, they wore their hair short.⁴ A Yona state is mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya⁵, as flourishing along with Kamboja in the time of Gautama Buddha⁶ and Assalāyana, and we are informed that among them there were only two social grades.⁶

That settlements of Greeks existed to the North west of India before Alexander may be deduced from Western Classical sources also. Arrian narrates the tradition of the Indian invasion of Dionysus⁷ and it is noteworthy that he attaches more weight to this story than that of similar exploits of Heracles, since he remarks, "about Heracles there is not much tradition",⁸ and he discusses in sober terms whether the Theban Dionysus started from Thebes or from the Lydian Tmolus.⁹ There

1. cf. also, N.N. Dasgupta, IC., II., p. 356 f.

2. Pāṇini's Gaṇapāṭha 178 on 2.1.72.- Yavanamunda, kambojamunda

3. There is an interesting statement in Harivaṃśa, XIV.16, that foreign tribes such as Śakas, Yavanas, Kambojas and others were degraded by Sagara and were ordered to shave their heads: "Arddhaṃ Śakanāṃ śiraso mundaṃ kṛtvā vyasarjayat, Yavanānaṃ śiraḥ sarvaṃ Kambojanāṃ tathaiva ca"

4. Moti Chandra, A Geographical and Economic Study of Upāyanaparva, p.35

5. Majjhima Nikāya, II. 149

6. YonaKambojesu dveva vanṇa Ayyo ceva Dāso ca ...

7. Arrian. V. i, ii. ; VI. i. 3. ; VIII. i. 5.

8. Ibid., VIII. v. 9

9. Ibid., V. i, ii.

are specific references to the settlement of Nysa, its 'free' and 'inferior' citizens,¹ and to its cavalry.² The chief of Nysa, whose name was Acuphis, told Alexander, "this city of Nysa, in which we dwell, has been free, and ourselves independent, and living as orderly citizens." He added that the government was in the hands of the aristocrats.⁴ Moreover, Arrian gives further explicit and circumstantial details: "the Nysaeans are not an Indian race; but part of those who came with Dionysus to India; probably even those Greeks who became past service in the wars which Dionysus waged with Indians; possibly also volunteers of the neighbouring tribes whom Dionysus settled there together with the Greeks....."⁵ Originally Nysa itself was imaginary and was put in different parts of the world, but the Nysa mentioned in connection with Alexander's invasion of India, ~~xx~~ 'probably stood on the lower spurs of the three-peaked Kohi-i-Mor'.⁶ Dionysus may be mythical but Nysa and its Greeks seem to be real.

The story of the Branchidae⁷ provides further evidence to same effect.⁸ The Branchidae claimed to be a sacred gens, descended

1. Arrian, V. ii.3

2. Ibid., VI. ii.3

3. Ibid., V. i.6

4. Ibid., V. ii.2

5. Arrian, Indica., ~~px~~ I. 4-5

6. CHI. p. 353; cf. also Smith, EHI⁴, p.56 fn.2

7. Strabo, XI.11.4; XIV.1.5; Diodorus XVII, Table of contents, k; Plutarch, Moralia, 557 b.; Curtius, VII, 5, 28-35

8. Beal, IA. 1880, pp. 68-71; Franz V. Schwarz, Alexander des Grossen Feldzuge in Turkestan, p. 37; B.V. Head, NC. 1906 p. 6; H.G. Rawlinson, Bactria, pp. 33, 41. The latter notes (p.41): "The story is only found in Curtius. There is unfortunately, no reason to doubt it." But as we have shown above the story is repeated in other sources also and thus there is all the more reason to believe it.

from Branchos, the mythical founder of the temple of Apollo near Miletus in Ionia. Their forefathers had yielded up the treasure of their temple to Xerxes; this affair brought so much odium on them that they retired with Xerxes into the interior of Asia. Xerxes transported them to a small town in Sogdiana which may have been between Balkh and Samarkand,¹ where their descendents^a were found by Alexander. They were now a bilingual and partially dishellenised race, but still attached to their tradition and origin. They received Alexander with great joy and surrendered their ~~hxxkxxxx~~ city and themselves to him. But they were not as fortunate as their brothers in Nysa, and Alexander was not as generous to the Milesians as he was to the followers of Dionysus. He madly destroyed the city and massacred its innocent citizens for the deeds of their forefathers. To us there seems to be no reason to call this story a 'clumsy fabrication'²; it is in fact attested by several later classical sources.

There is evidence to show that the Greeks of various city-states in Asia Minor were sometimes threatened by the Persians with exile to the far eastern portions of their Achaemenid empire³ and were actually settled in those areas.⁴

1. Beal, op.cit., p. 69

2. Tarn, Alexander the Great, I. p. 67.

3. Herodotus. VI. 9 ; cf. also , H.G.Rawlinson, op.cit., p. 32 , "Bactria seems to have been used as a sort of 'Siberia' under the Persian kings."

4. Besides the colonies of the Thracians(?) at Nysa and of the Branchidae in Sogdiana , we know from Herodotus, IV. 204, that a colony of Libyans from Barca was settled in Bactria. Cf. also for other references, Trever, p. 4

The numismatic evidence confirms the literary reports.¹ The regular currency of the Achaemenids consisted of gold darics and silver sigloi. Silver sigloi are only sparingly found in the eastern parts of the Achaemenid empire, and it has been recently shown that they were issued chiefly for the western cities.² It is strange that the Achaemenids, who coined silver for one area, did not do so for the other. It may reasonably be suggested that the so-called Bent-bar coins and other pieces of smaller denominations bearing similar marks were struck for the eastern region with their knowledge and consent.³ Side by side with this class of money, which served the needs of some peoples and areas in the east, there also circulated in large numbers the silver coins of the various cities of Asia Minor. The Athenian 'owls', together with the issues of other Greek cities, which have been found in Afghanistan,⁴ must have been brought there by the Greeks both as traders and settlers. Undoubtedly there was a continuous flow of such

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1. D.R.Bhandarkar, Carmichael Lectures, 1921; (Ancient Indian Numismatics) pp. 24-32; also B.V.Head, NC, 1906, pp. 1 ff.
 2. Schlumberger, pp. 3 ff.
 3. This is indicated by (i) the weights of the Bent-bar coins, (ii) the close relationship to Indian Punch-marked coins, although they have distinct symbols which are ^{not} generally found on the Indian Punch-marked series (iii) style, and (iv) the fact that North-west India and adjoining areas were for sometime included in the Achaemenid empire. Cf. Allan, BMC. Ancient India, introduction, pp. clxi, clxii; xv-xvi, Pl. I.1-5. Also, Schlumberger, Appendix I, p. 37 f. Pl. III-IV.
 4. "Enquiry has failed to bring to light any trustworthy records of the actual discovery of 'owls' in India", this remark in CHI, p. 387 is true to this day. But we are concerned here with areas in Afghanistan, where these coins have been found., Cunningham, JASB . 1881., pp. 169-82.186 etc., and Schlumberger, loc.cit., pp. 46 ff.

coins from the West and it is probable that pieces of similar character were also struck locally.¹ As the Achaemenid power declined, local satraps became virtually independent, and we get such money as the coins called 'Imitation owls' and 'Eagles', and the issues of a certain Sophytes.² Erudite studies have appeared on these coins.³ Morphologically they seem to form a single group, one series being linked with the other by features of type and fabric.⁴ And they apparently confirm to an independent system of metrology which may have arisen from local custom and the exigencies of trade.

With the background of literary evidence, both Western and Indian before us, and with the knowledge that the coins can ultimately be

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1. This appears to be clear not only from the 'taurine', 'Caduceus' and other symbols which sometimes appear on 'owls', but from the coins bearing AIT instead of AΘE, which B.V. Head interprets as perhaps referring to the Aigloi, whom Herodotus, III.92. mentions as dwelling to the north of the Bactrians. cf. also Macdonald, CHI., p. 387. Schlumberger (op.cit., p. 4) however, thinks that they denote some satrapal name.
 2. I have not included the satrapal coinage of the Achaemenids and such controversial issues as the Double-darics, coins of Vaksuvar (?), Andragoras etc., in this discussion since they do not concern us directly.
 3. Cunningham, NC. 1886., pp. 220 ff.; JASB. 1881., pp. 169-82, 186 etc. Gardner, NC. 1880., pp. 181 ff.; Howarth, NC. 1888., pp. 293 ff. Hill, BMC.Persia, Mesopotamia, etc., pp. cxlviii ff.; Macdonald, CHI. pp. 386 ff.; Whitehead, NC. 1943, pp. 60 ff.; Schlumberger, pp. 4, 19 ff.
 4. The numismatic sequence of types is as follows : Original Athenian 'Owls' === Imitation 'Owls' including coins which bear the inscription AIT === Smaller Imitation 'Owls' having 'taurine' and other symbols === 'Eagles' === 'Eagles' with 'caduceus' among other symbols (this is very clear on two unpublished specimens in the British Museum), === Coins of Sophytes with Cock and Caduceus.

traced back to the Athenian 'owls' and other city-coins of the Greeks, it is reasonable to suggest that they are the surviving material remains of the Greeks settled in Afghanistan.¹ It is possible that these peoples played an adventurous part in the confused drama of the last days of the tottering Achaemenid empire, and that here and there satraps or peoples started minting their own coinage. At least one name, that of Sophytes,² is left to posterity. This ruler, whose name does not seem to be Greek, minted coins without any royal title, with his portrait on the obverse ; this might be that of a Greek ; the features are not^{those} of an Indian. Sophytes may well have been a Eastern Satrap under the Achaemenid rule, a Yavana with the semblance of an Iranian name.³

The Greeks who were settled in Eastern Iran must naturally have intermarried with the Iranians and other local elements of the populace; hence the hybrid names and coin-types just mentioned. The Yavanas thus in our opinion were much mixed with Iranian elements. Although they had not forgotten their traditions, they had probably to some extent

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1. D.R.Bhandarkar, op.cit., pp. 24-32
 2. Cunningham, NC. 1866, pp. 220 ff. ; Gardner, BMC. pp. xix-xx
Sylvain Levi, JA., 1890, pp. 237-39 ; Macdonald, CHI, p. 388
Whitehead, NC. 1943 pp. 60-72 ; J.N.Banerjea, JNSI, 1945, pp. 23-26
A.K.Narain, JNSI. 1949, pp. 93-99 ; Schlumberger, p. 29
 3. It is possible that Acuphis , the name of the chief of the Yavanas in Nysa , is another of the same type. That the Yavanas took such Iranian names appears to be proved beyond doubt by the Junagadh Inscription of Rudradaman, dated A.D. 150, which refers to a Greek king, 'Yavanaraja' who ruled the district as a Viceroy of Asoka in the 3rd. Century B.C., and whose name, Tuṣāspha is ~~xxxx~~ Iranian.

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identified themselves with the local Iranians in social and political life. When Alexander proceeded eastwards after the death of Darius III, they had already become an organised body, both socially and politically. Some of the cities inhabited by them and some of the Greco-Iranian chiefs may have welcomed Alexander, some to meet his pleasure and some destruction at his hands. The Western Classical sources give the impression that ~~many~~ of the Greek settlers in these regions were anti-Macedonians and ~~they~~ were not happy ~~from~~^{at} the treatment they received from Alexander and some of his Generals. It is not surprising that some of the Greeks, who were already Greco-Iranians, made common cause with the Iranians, with whom, under the perpetual menace of the northern nomads and bordering powers, they constituted a sort of march state. It is no wonder that, like the Indians, they lost no time in throwing off their allegiance to Alexander. We are informed that the Greeks settled in the 'Upper Satrapies' were submissive through fear when Alexander was alive, but when he was dead they rose in revolt. Pithon was sent by Perdikkas to quell them,¹ and Seleucus had to reconquer some of their territory and to lose some to Chandragupta Maurya.² Even then the successors of Alexander in the East could not control the Yavanas for more than two generations. Such were the people who dominated the country from the Oxus to the Indus for almost two centuries.

Tarn finds difficulty in accounting for the large number of

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1. Diodorus. XVIII. 7
 2. Seleucus reconquered Bactria, but lost Aria, Arachosia, Gedrosia and Paropamisadae, CHI.p. 431. ; Strabo, XV.1.10 ,
These latter provinces were ceded perhaps because among other reasons he thought it difficult to keep them under control.

Greeks in Bactria , and suggests that the early Seleucids must have encouraged settlements.¹ But there is no definite evidence of any such settlement on a large scale. The difficulty disappears if we agree that the 'Greeks' in Bactria were not Hellenistic Greeks, but mostly the descendents of earlier settlers ,preserving their traditions , but much intermixed with the Iranian peoples, and in some measure reinforced by newcomers.

Thus, the people with whose history we are concerned included not only late arrivals on the scene, the veterans of Alexander or colonists of the Seleucids, but also many settlers from Greek cities of Asia who had dwelt in the region for some generations, and incidentally who were generally anti-Macedonians. Further, their growth and their extension of their power would not have been possible were it not for the Iranian element which afforded support and strength. We prefer to call these people Yavanas, rather than Bactrian Greeks or Indo-Greeks, terms which are exclusive, but not inclusive. In this thesis we use the terms Yavanas and Indo-Greeks as synonyms.

1. Tarn., p. 72

When Tarn wrote his book on "The Greeks in Bactria and India", he had the Middle East in his mind. "For in the history of India the episode of Greek rule has no meaning; it is really part of the history of Hellenism,..... for there were not four Hellenistic dynasties - Seleucids, Ptolemies, Antigònids, Attalids - but five, and on any showing the Euthydemids, both in the extent of their rule and in what they tried to do, were vastly more important than the Attalids.. . . The Greek empire of Bactria and India was a Hellenistic state,... and its history was a branch of Seleucid history, just as the Euthydemid dynasty was on the distaff side a branch of the Seleucid line." ¹

This is a partial judgement because the Hellenistic aspect is overemphasised. The story of the Yavanas or the Indo-Greeks, has to be studied against two backgrounds. First, that of the decline of the Achaemenid empire in the east and the aftermath of Alexander's military career; and second, that of the fall of the great central authority of the Mauryas in India.

By the first half of the 4th. century B.C. under Artaxerxes I (404-359), large parts of the Achaemenid empire were asserting their independence. ² "The magnificent organisation of the empire by Darius

1. Tarn., Introduction, p. xx.

2. Marshall, Taxila, I p. 14

the Great had merely earned for him the title of the 'shopkeeper' from the Persian nobility, and corruption and intrigue had reduced the greatest kingdom of antiquity to a huge unwieldy mass of states... The corruption, however, had not spread across the Carmanian desert, and the Bactrians of the East, owing to their constant wars with the Scythians, and their great distance from Susa, retained in their far off rugged country some of the virtues of the early Iranians of the days of Cyrus the Great.^{XX}

Then came Alexander. Persepolis was burnt; Darius Codomannus was murdered by his own officers. But again the unruly eastern Iran was not prepared to submit tamely to the victor. In fact " eastern Iran was fighting a national war." ¹

The experiment of leaving the eastern provinces under local satraps did not succeed. Alexander had appointed a certain Philip to govern both Bactria and Sogdiana. By the treaty of Triparadissus in 321 Philip was transferred to Parthia, and Stasanor, a Cypriot of Soli, was transferred from Aria and Drangiana to become satrap of Bactria and Sogdiana. Justin says that " the government of Parthia was committed to Stasanor, a foreign ally, because none of the Macedonians would deign to accept it." ² It may well have been thought that a governor who was a Greek, not a Macedonian, was more likely to manage the restive

X H.G. Rawlinson, Bactria. p. 34

1. Tarn, Alexander the Great, I. p. 61

2. Justin, XLI. 4.

Greek colonists.¹ Antigonus Gonatas did not dare to disturb Stasanor in his satrapy for had he been attacked he would have many friends to fight in his support.² This must have added to the strength and resources of the Bactrian satrap Stasanor.

Meanwhile the death of Alexander had unchained the conflicting ambitions of his "successors". By 312 Seleucus had regained Babylon and later, as Alexander's successor in the east, he proceeded to take possession of his heritage. But Seleucus' eastern journey involved a reconquest and not merely an assertion of his right. He failed in India to the extent of ceding four satrapies, and when he wanted to reclaim Bactria, he had to fight for it, since Stasanor had already declared himself independent. It seems that the Yavanas and the Iranian nobility were never really loyal to the Seleucids. The difficulty of holding the East was such that Seleucus made his son Antiochus I, a joint-king to manage his eastern affairs. But the complicated struggles for power kept the attention of Seleucus and successors directed towards the West, and before long the inhabitants of Bactria, Parthia, and other adjoining areas recognised the folly of paying tribute to a distant monarch who was incapable of enforcing respect or obedience. Bevan has rightly remarked that, "the new colonies in this region, being mainly composed of Greeks, had shown themselves impatient of Macedonian rule, and a leader who could play upon this national feeling could make himself very strong. Diodotus the Satrap, probably a Greek like his predecessor Stasanor and his successor Euthydemus, abjured allegiance to his Seleucid master and declared himself an independent king."³ A new power was born.

1. E.R.Bevan, op.cit. p. 277
3. E.R.Bevan, op.cit. pp. 286-87

2. Diodorus. XIX. 48

India had already shown sign of vigour in her resistance to Alexander , who could subdue the petty powers of the Panjab and Sind only after severe battles. No sooner had he left India than he heard the tidings of revolt, and of the murder of Philip. When the trusted generals of Alexander were busy tearing one empire to pieces , a youthful Maurya laid the foundation of another. But this Maurya Empire, too, which was so vigorously built by Candragupta (321-297) and so piously nourished by Asoka (269-232), began to decline fast and was soon torn apart by centrifugal tendencies. Already, according to the generally accepted view , a son of Asoka , named Jalauka, had taken possession of Kashmir.¹ He is supposed to have crushed a Mleccha horde and advanced as far as Kanauj.² It is difficult to agree with the view that these Mlecchas "probably refer to the Bactrian Greeks",³ for it seems unlikely that they penetrated as far as Kashmir at this time. Either Kalhana , the 11th. century author of Rājatarāṅgiṇī, attributed a later Yavana invasion to the time of Jalauka, or he made use of a tradition of a raid or incursion of some unknown tribes from the borders.⁴ From the late and confused evidence of Tārānātha , Gandhara was apparently ruled by Vrasena, another descendent of Asoka;⁵ and from

1. Rājatarāṅgiṇī. I. 107-108

2. Ibid., I. 115-117

3. R.K.Mookerjee, The Age of Imperial Unity, p.90

4. We should note that we have nothing to substantiate the contents of Rājatarāṅgiṇī, I. 107, about the Mlecchas in Kashmir during the time of Asoka : Mlecchahiṃ saṃchādite kṛte sa taducchittaye nṛpaḥ, Tapah

saṃtoṣitāllebhe Bhūteśātsukṛti-sutaṃ.

5. Anton Schiefner, Geschichte Des Buddhismus in Indien , p. 50-52

Polybius we know that Antiochus III " renewed his alliance with Sophagaseⁿus, the Indian king." ¹ The common termination of the two names suggests that this Spphagasenus or Subhāgasena was a successor of Vīrasena. ² The existence of an independent kingdom in North West India before 206 and the evidence concerning defections in Gandhara and Kashmir, shows that the Maurya empire must have begun to break up nearly a quarter of a century before the usurpation of Puṣyamitra. ³ If Kalhana's account of Jalauka's advance as far/as Kanauj ⁴ is correct, even though that conquest may only have been temporary, and if the local and tribal coins of Northern India indicate the existence of free powers in western Uttar Pradesh and the areas adjoining it, ⁵ Puṣyamitra's coup cannot have resulted in the creation of a large empire either under him or his successors. The Śungas, though in possession of ~~the~~ some key centres of power, probably had neither the strength nor the resources to reclaim all parts of the Maurya empire, though Puṣyamitra's two Aśvamedhas indicate that they attempted it. But their success can have been but slight, for the few traces they have left are all associated with only three prominent administrative centres of the preceding kings, Pāṭaliputra, Ayodhya and Vidiśā. ⁶

1. Polybius, XI. 39

2. Thomas, IA. 1875, p. 362; Smith, EMI ⁴, p. 236; CEI, p. 512; K.A. Nilkanta Sastri The Age of the Nandas and Mauryas, p. 246; H.C. Raychaudhury, PHAI, 6th. edn. p. 350

3. H.C. Raychaudhury, op.cit., p. 362

4. Rājatarāṅginī. I. 117; Smith, EMI ⁴, p. 201; Mookerjee, op.cit., p. 90

5. cf. John Allan, EMCA Ancient India, under Ayodhya, Mathura, Pāncāla, Rājya, Taxila, Tripuri etc.; cf. also, infra., pp. 145-46

6. The evidence of Divyāvadāna about Sāgala is doubtful. cf. infra. p. 140

Under such political conditions it was not surprising that the new power of the Yavanas, should invade and occupy parts of the outlying provinces of the Mauryan empire, e.g. Aria, Arachosia and the Paropamisadae. Having consolidated their power the Yavanas attacked the Panjab. Still later, when they extended their rule as far as the Ravi, they made occasional incursions even beyond the Beas, without any permanent result; echoes of such attempts are left in the literary sources, both Indian and Western. Puṣyamitra ruled for 36 years (184-148) and his reign appears to have been one of struggle and stress for the new dynasty. His position as the General of the last Mauryan king may have helped him with the neighbouring local powers. But about the time of Puṣyamitra's death, some of the latter combined to attack Pāṭaliputra, and the Yavanas appear to have joined them.¹ Just when these Yavanas were at the height of their power, their ambition was shattered by their internal feuds. And to make their plight worse, the nomads, Śakas, Fahlavas and the Yueh Chih-Kuṣāṇas, poured into India and spread in all directions, until the Yavanas maintained only a precarious existence as a forlorn island amidst a sea of successive invaders and were gradually submerged.

Keeping all this in view, it becomes difficult to agree with Tarn's claim that the history of the Yavanas is an essential part of Hellenistic history.² There is a definite connection with the Seleucid

1. cf. infra., p. 132 ff

2. Tarn, p. xx. (Introduction)

history , inasmuch as Bactria was administratively a geographical unit under the Seleucids until the Yavanas broke away. But they did not look back to the Seleucids ~~for~~ to the Greek world in the Middle East for inspiration and help, and they never cared to meddle in the struggles of the Hellenistic powers. The new state of Bactria cannot be regarded as a succession state of Alexander's empire ; it developed from the revolt of a Governor who had the backing of the people. It did not come to Diodotus or Euthydemus as a heritage, nor was its independence the result of the family policies of the successor Generals of Alexander. Bactria became independent in the same way as Parthia and possibly other areas close to it ; but the Yavanas never called themselves 'Philhellenos' as did some of the Parthian kings. Once they stood upon their own feet , their isolation prevented them from planting new Greek settlements in their kingdom as the Seleucids did in the Middle East. The constitution of the Yavana kingdoms was not the same as that of the Hellenistic states of the Middle East and the ~~the~~ Yavana kings did not share the outlook of the Seleucids or the Ptolemies. Bactria was not a " fifth Hellenistic state " much less the little Yavana kingdom in India. An important fact is not to be ignored that ~~the~~ whereas in countries like Syria and Egypt there was no break in the continuity of Greek domination after the death of Alexander, there was the intervening Mauryan period between his death and the rise of the Yavanas. The Yavanas were more influenced

by Indian religion and thought than any Hellenistic king by the faith and ideas of the land in which he lived and ruled. Tarn agrees that no Seleucid ever put Iranian or Babylonian legends on his coinage, no Ptolemy ever used Egyptian, but the Yavanas introduced Indian legends in Indian scripts on their money. The history of the Yavanas is part of the history of India and not of the Hellenistic states ; they came, they saw, but India conquered.

CHAPTER II.

THE RISE AND GROWTH OF THE YAVANA POWER

IN INDIA

The birth of the new kingdom of the Yavanas in Bactria was an event fraught with momentous consequences to India's immediate future, for Bactria was the fertile and rich country between the Oxus and the Hindu-Kush ; Strabo , quoting Aristobulus and earlier writers , has emphasised the importance of the Oxus region in India's trade with the West.¹

The details of Bactria's achievement of independence are shrouded in darkness and the sources are confused. The work of Apollodorus , which might have given us reliable information, is unfortunately lost. Trogus² and Strabo³ appear to have drawn on him copiously, and we know from them that a certain Diodotus rebelled against Antiochus II and established his independence in Bactria.⁴ While describing the rise of Parthia and the course of Parthian history , Justin gives some incidental information by way of synchronism and similitude.⁵

" After his (Antigonus') death they ("the Parthians with other peoples of Upper Asia") were under the rule of Seleucus Nicator, and then under Antiochus and his successors, from whose great-grandson Seleucus they first revolted , in the first Punic War, when Lucius Manlius Vulso and Marcus Attilus Regulus were consuls..... At the same period, also ,

1. Strabo. XI. 7.3

2. Preserved by Justin in the Prologi Historiarum Philippicarum Pompeii Trogi.

3. Strabo' Geography.

4. Trogus, XLI , " In Bactrianis autem rebus , ut a Diodoto rege constitutum est " ; and Strabo, XI. 9.2, XI.9.3

5. Justin, XLI. 4.

~~At the same period, also,~~ Theodotus^x, g^movernor of the thousand cities of Bactria revolted, and assumed the title of king, and all the other people of the East, influenced by his example, fell away from the Macedonians. One Arsaces, a man of uncertain origin overthrew Andragoras..... and after putting him to death, took upon himself the gⁿovernment of the country. Not long after, too, he made himself master of Hyr^cania and thus, invested with authority over the nations, raised a large army through fear of Seleucus and Theodotus, king of the Bactrians. But being soon rel^eieved of his fears by the death of Theodotus, and not long after, engaging with king Seleucus, who came to take vengeance on the revolters, he obtained a victory; and the Parthians observe the day on which it was gained with great solemnity as the date of the commencement of their liberty."

It would appear from this passage that, (l) Bactria rebelled earlier than Parthia, (ll) that Parthians observed with great solemnity the day of their independence, and (lll) before the Parthian victory over the Seleucids, the first Diodotus had died and the Parthians had made peace with Diodotus II.

Strabo¹ tells us that, "those who had been entrusted with their government first caused the revolt of Bactriana and of all the country near it, and then Arsaces invaded Parthia ..."; and also, "... when in flight from the enlarged power of Diodotus and his followers he (Arsaces) caused Parthia to revolt."² Strabo

1. Strabo, XI. 9.2.

2. Strabo, XI.9.3.

x A mistake for Diodotus. ~~by~~

supposes that Arsaces was a Bactrian under Diodotus, and that he fomented the revolt of Parthia, through discontent with his Greek master.

Although the chronology of early Parthian history is controversial it is generally believed that Parthia revolted in the year 250,¹ and that the Parthian era started in 248-47 B.C.², whatever might have been the occasion for it.³ Another important date, that of Seleuces II's invasion of Parthia, is said to have fallen not earlier than 238.⁴

With the help of these three dates, it may be deduced that Bactria rebelled before 250 and that by 238 the Parthians had not only made an alliance with Diodotus II but had also strengthened their power by annexing Hyrcania.⁵ Hyrcania must have been conquered after his alliance with Diodotus II rid Arsaces of the fear of Bactria.

In order to arrive at the correct date of the Parthian revolt, it was suggested by St. Martin⁶ that Justin confounded two distinct

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1. George Rawlinson, *The Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy*, p.44 Cunningham. *CASE* p.80; Wroth, *BMC Parthia*, pp.XVIII-XIX Tarn, *CAH*.IX. p.575 ; Debevoise. *A Political History of Parthia* (p.9
 2. Since the discovery of a double dated tablet by G. Smith (*Assyrian Discoveries*, London, 1875, p.389) it is almost definitely settled.
 3. cf. Debevoise., *op.cit.*; Tarn *CAH* IX p.576 Gardner, *The Parthian Coinage* (*International Numismatic Orientalia* pt. V, p.3 (represents the date of the revolt); Tarn, *CAH*, IX, p.576 (coronation of Tiridates I), cf. Debevoise, *op.cit.* p.9
 4. George Macdonald, *CHI*. p.440; Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, I, p.285 f.
 5. Justin, *XLI*.4.
 6. *Teste*, Cunningham *CASE* p.79

dates, that of the commencement of Seleucus II's reign and that of the two consuls mentioned above, Seleucus II began to reign in 246¹ and the two consuls functioned in 256 B.C.² The Parthian era starts before Seleucus II's accession, and the date of the consuls mentioned by Justin appears to be too early to synchronise with the Parthian revolt. It has therefore been suggested that Justin made a mistake in the names of the consuls; in place of Marcus Attilus we should read Caius Attilis and the date would then be 250.³ It would appear more probable from the context of the passage quoted that Justin confused the date of the Parthian revolt with that of Bactrian independence.⁴ If so, it may well be that Diodotus broke away in 256 B.C., the fifth year of the reign of Antiochus II.⁵ The political circumstances of the time were very congenial to such defections, and a worthless king of such contemptible morale as Antiochus could have hardly inspired

1. Bevan, op. cit. p.179, 189 f.

Vol. I. New York. 1951

2. Broughton, The Magistrates of the Roman Republic I p.208

*4. H.G. Rawlinson, Bactria, p.57, noticed this possible confusion but also assumed the mistake in the name of the consul and so gave the date as 250; the phrase "eodem tempore" of Justin led scholars to regard the Bactrian independence as almost contemporary with the Parthian revolt; but this phrase does not necessarily indicate the exact synchronism of the two events, but may imply a longer duration especially when referring to events long past. We have therefore translated the phrase in the passage quoted above as "in the same period" which implies a lapse of a few years between the two events.


5. G. Rawlinson, The Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy, p.39 ff
Rostovtzeff, CAH, vol. VII p.159; McGovern, Early Empires of Central Asia, p.67; Newell, Eastern Seleucid Mints, p.249 but see also his Western Seleucid Mints, p.388

It was also accepted by the very early writers on this subject such as Bayer, Historia Regni Graecorum Bactrianip. 38.; Lassen, JASB 1840, p.668

~~Tarn, p.73 f.~~

*3. Cunningham. CASE. p.80

respect or fear. Tarn's¹ very late dating of the Diodoti is based on the assumption of matrimonial relations connecting them with the Seleucids and the Euthydemids, for which there is no good evidence. Newell has very ably shown independently from the numismatic evidence that the break away of Bactria from the Seleucids is to be placed in 256-55 B.C., "However abrupt the political transition may ^{or}(may not) have been."²

It was suggested by Macdonald³ and supported by Tarn⁴, that the revolt of Diodotus was not sudden, but that the numismatic evidence indicates gradual ascendancy to power and independence. They thought that the Diodotus' coins belong to the second Diodotus, and that the monograms which resolve into DIO and which are variously represented as  etc., on certain Seleucid coins of both Antiochus I and II, stand for the name of the first Diodotus when he was reaching out towards independence. Though it is usually believed that monograms in general stand either for a mint or a moneyer, the alternative interpretation in this case has been supported by reference to Aspeisas, satrap of Susiana, and Nicocles king of Paphos, who put their names on the coinage of Alexander, with results disastrous to themselves.⁵ This view is most unconvincing and the examples given by Tarn do not apply. Both Aspeisas and Nicocles put their full names and not

1. Tarn., p.73 f.

2. Newell, Eastern Seleucid Mints. p.245

3. CHI pp. 435-37

4. Tarn pp.72-74

5. Tarn p.73

their monograms on their coins.¹ Moreover, it is not likely that Diodotus knew about the coins of Aspeisas of Susiana and Nicocles of Paphos; and even if he did, the example of them would hardly encourage him to imitate them. We should also note certain coins of Antiochus I of the 'Horned horse' type where we find the letters ABIA², which, Gardner suggested, may represent some otherwise unknown satrap or semi-independent ruler of Bactria.³ These coins also bear the monogram Δ . They can hardly be regarded as the simultaneous issue of Diodotus and another satrap Abidbelus.⁴ There is no sufficient reason to reject the usual theory that these monograms are those of moneys or mints. The monograms illustrated above are found on many Seleucid coins including some issues of Seleucus I and Antiochus III.⁵ If they represent the name of Diodotus we must assume that Diodotus was appointed a satrap as early as the time of Seleucus I, and that he struck coins in three successive reigns, all the time trying to break away from the Seleucid overlords; this is impossible.

Once we reject the idea that the monograms represent his name the view that Diodotus gradually seceded from the Seleucid empire can find no support whatever; his breakaway was abrupt, because, ~~xx~~ as Justin clearly indicates, it was a simple revolt with no special features

1. Newell, NC., 1919, p. 64f.; and E.S.G. Robinson, NC. 1921, p. 37 f.

2. Newell, Eastern Seleucid Mints, pp. 240-41, Pl. LIII, 3; Gardner, NC. 1880., p. 190

3. Gardner, loc. cit.

4. Six, NC. 1898., p. 231 f.

5. Newell, op. cit., pp. 231-33, 211-12 (of Ecbatama mint); cf. also Gardner, BMC. Seleucid., pp. 1, 4, 6, 26, 29 etc.

The monogram Δ also occurs on the coins of 'Head of Zeus and biga or quadriga' of elephants' type, bearing the name of both Seleucus and Antiochus. NC. 1906, pl. II. 11-14

to distinguish it from the many similar rebellions of governors of outlying provinces, which were common enough in many periods of ancient history.

The coins of the Diodotus series have two distinct portraits, one of an older face with a trace of double chin and the other definitely younger with more angular features.¹ They can not be the same person at different ages. The older face is obviously that of Diodotus I, the founder of the Bactrian kingdom, because coins bearing this portrait are linked by identical reverse dies with the coins of Antiochus II issued in the beginning of Diodotus I's reign². Many scholars have assumed that since the portrait on our coins tends to grow younger, it belongs to that of the younger Diodotus.³ Newell has rightly noted that this appearance of youthfulness is illusory, certainly the man who appears on the first of these coins in Pl. LII 5-6 of his "Eastern Seleucid Mints", is not^a youth, and he considers him to be the elder Diodotus; but he does not admit^{any} of the portraits as that of his son.⁴ He thinks that, the son "continued to use his father's portrait, which exhibited a constant tendency to grow

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1. Compare the specimens in Newell, ESM, Pl. LII, Nos. 5-7, 10-11, 15-16, 18-19.; also the commemorative medals struck by Antimachus (Cunningham, CASE, pl. I.5) and by Agathocles (BMC. Pl. IV.2, CASE, pl. II.1.)
 2. Newell, op. cit., Pl. LIII, 4 & 5.
 3. Macdonald, CHI, p. 437; Tarn, p. 73
 4. Newell, op. cit., p. 248. Tarn, in Addenda p. 523, remarks, "this removes an old difficulty" but does not make any modification in his theory.

younger and more idealised as time went on."¹ To us , however, they are clearly two distinct portraits; and we have no grounds to believe that coin portraits were idealised in this early period; at any rate those on the coins of Diodotus² are evidently realistic portraits and not idealised types.

Thus we have reason to believe that a certain Diodotus rebelled in Bactria in the very beginning of Antiochus ' reign, that is, in circa. 256 B.C. He took liberties with the coins of the latter, imitating them, but substituting sometimes his name and sometimes his portrait for those of Antiochus. Since the portraits of both the Diodoti are found on the series in which the name of Antiochus continues³ and since it appears from Justin that the son of Diodotus I was on the throne before the Parthian era started,⁴ it is more than probable that Diodotus II succeeded his father in c. 248 before Antiochus II died, and at first followed the practice of his father in issuing coins with the name of Antiochus. Both father and son also struck money with their name, type and portrait complete.⁵

We do not know much about the career and achievements of the Diodoti. They are not only known as the rulers of the thousand cities

1. Newell, op.cit., p. 248

2. Cf. also Trever, p. 116., " ... whoever engraved the die, whether Greek or Bactrian - this portrait is the work of a great artist."

3. Newell, op. cit., Pl. LIII, Nos. 6,7,10 for Diodotus I and Pl. Liii Nos. 11,15 for Diodotus II

4. Supra., p. 20

5. Cunningham, CASE. , p. 98. Pl. I. These specimens are in BM . They do not seem to be forgeries as Von Sallet, pp. 20, 22 once believed. Cf. also Gardner, BMC. p. xxi . The portraits on them are similar to the elderly ones on the coins bearing the name of Antiochus, cp. Newell, Pl . LIII.

Bactria but their kingdom is also supposed to have included Margiana and Sogdiana. Strabo says, that, when the Greeks got possession of the country of Bactriana they divided it into satrapies, of which that of Turiva and that of Aspionus were taken from Eucratides by the Parthians, and that they held Sogdiana also.¹ The satrapies of Turiva and that of Aspionus must have been in Margiana, which bordered on Parthia.² The provenance of their coins also confirm this extent of the Diodotan kingdom.

Diodotus I had undoubtedly assumed the royal prerogative, and with his increased power it is not improbable that he took the title of Soter; the coins with the legend $\Delta\text{IO}\Delta\text{OTOY}\ \Sigma\Omega\text{THPO}\Sigma$ were issued by him.³ There is nothing to support the theory of Macdonald that they are commemorative medals issued by Demetrius.⁴ They bear neither the name of Demetrius nor any other feature of later known Indo-Greek commemorative medals. Even the die adjustments⁵ is not evidence for a date later than Diodotus, as has been argued by Macdonald, for we have noticed this arrangements on some coins of Diodotus.⁵ ~~xxxxxx~~
~~xxxxxx~~ ~~represented on his money as a young man~~ The portrait on this coin can not be that of Diodotus II, who is represented on his own money as a young man; and hence must be that of Diodotus I, who,

1. Strabo, XI.11.2.

2. Cunningham, CASE. p. 115

3. Cunningham, (op.cit., p. 98, pl. I), regarded them as issues of Diodotus II since he considered all the elderly portrait as belonging to him. Whitehead, PMC. p. 10, has listed it under the Diodotus series, and has not attempted to discriminate between the two kings of the same name.

4. Macdonald, CHI. pp. 440, 451, also Tarn, pp. 73, 201.

5. Two specimens in Major General H.L. Haughton's collection and also in BM. It is difficult to make any major point on the basis of die adjustments unless of course a very large number of coins are personally examined.

perhaps took this title, Soter, because he considered himself the Saviour of the Yavanas in Bactria. It is not surprising that the Parthians feared the might of Diodotus I, and that when he died they hastened to make an alliance with his son. Such an alliance was in the interest of both the new kingdoms. On the one hand it gave them mutual security, and on the other strength to meet any possible attempt at reassertion of power by the Seleucids; such an attempt was in fact made, but was unsuccessful. There is nothing to substantiate the suggestion that Diodotus I, a rebel, the murder of whose descendent^s Euthydemus I took pride in when he met Antiochus III,¹ was given a Seleucid princess in marriage² - a princess of whose existence there is no evidence and whose name has yet to be discovered. Diodotus II appears to have so consolidated his power that it was beyond the strength^h of Seleuc^us II to re-establish Seleucid^e hegemony over Bactria and Sogdiana, even after his initial success in Parthia. Once Parthia also regained power any such attempt became out of question for more than a quarter of century until in c. 210-8 we find Antiochus III opposing Euthydemus I and yet, for all his might, ~~was~~ compelled to acknowledge him as king in Bactria.

It would appear from the portrait on his coins that Diodotus II could not have ruled more than fifteen years, and he must, therefore,

1. Polybius., XI. 39

2. Tarn., p. 73, that Antiochus II married his daughter to Diodotus.

have died c. 235. From the evidence of **Polybius** it would seem that he met a violent end at the hands of Euthydemus.¹

Besides the gold staters and the silver money ², the Diodoti struck coins in copper. The copper types are, 'Head of Zeus and Artemis'³ and 'Head of king wearing flat Kausia and Pallas standing'.⁴ Both these types bear the names of Diodotus. There is another coin in copper, 'Head of ~~Hermes~~ wearing petasus and crossed Caducei',⁵ but bearing the name of Antiochus. Like the other coins in gold and silver this appears to be an issue of the Diodoti struck in Bactria.⁶

The choice of Zeus as the main type of the reverse suits the name of Diodotus, 'the gift of Zeus'. It may be that, as Trever has suggested⁷ on breaking away from the Seleucids the Diodotus' called on the greatest of the gods to help him, and the figure of the Zeus ~~weilding~~ wielding the thunderbolt may have been intended to intimidate his enemies. It is possible that Artemis may represent the Anahita of Bactria. Trever has surmised that the figure of Zeus was engraved not by a Greek but ^{by} a local craftsman.⁸

Thus the Diodoti laid the foundation of the Bactrian kingdom of the Yavanas. But the growth and consolidation of their power was largely due to the achievements of Euthydemus and his son Demetrius. According to Polybius⁹, Euthydemus belonged to Magnesia. There are two

1. Polybius. XI.39

2. The type of the gold stater and the silver money is the same, e.g. 'Diademed head of king and Zeus standing hurling thunderbolt', cf. PMC. I, 1.2. Cf. Appendix. III for the coin types.

3. BMC. I.9

4. PMC. I. 4.; Newell, ESM, Pl. LIII

5. Newell, ESM., Pl. LIII. 9. There is one in the Haughton collection.

6. Ibid., p. 246

7. Trever., p. 115

8. Trever., loc.cit.

9. Polybius, XI. 39

Magnesias - the Ionian and the Lydian. Cunningham,¹ Gardner,² and Tarn³ favour the former as the origin of Euthydemus, but on the basis of coin types Macdonald⁴ and Newell⁵ agree that he originally belonged to the Lydian city, Magnesia ad Syplum .

Euthydemus could not have been a mere soldier of fortune. Whether he was a brother of Diodotus⁶ or a nobleman of Bactria⁷, it is difficult to say; but it is not improbable that he was a satrap or a high ranking military official under Diodotus II. De la Vallée Poussin⁸ and Grousset⁹ make him a satrap of Sogdiana and Cunningham thought that he was a satrap of Aria and Margiana.¹⁰ We know from Polybius that Euthydemus fought a battle against Antiochus III on the banks of the Arius river, and thus there may be some truth in Cunningham's suggestion. If the testimony of Polybius is to be believed, "after others had revolted he possessed himself of the throne of Bactria by destroying their descendents."¹¹ Although 'descendents' would imply more than one individual, in default of evidence it has been assumed that Euthydemus succeeded to the Bactrian throne by killing Diodotus II. Tarn believed that Euthydemus was acting in the Seleucid interest and in that of Hellenism by doing so, because ^{of} ~~his~~ alliance with the Parthians. But personal ambition is a sufficient motive. His plea to Antiochus III, of which we shall read below was probably a pretext. Since there is no evidence for Diodotus' marriage with a Seleucid princess, the view that Euthydemus married a daughter born of her¹² is even more doubtful.

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| 1. CASE., p. 145 | 2. BMC. p. xxi | 3. Tarn., pp. 74-75 |
| 4. CHI. , p. 440 | 5. Western Seleucid Mints., p. 274 | |
| 6. Ancient Universal History: History of Bactria, Vol III. p. 846, teste Tod, Transactions of the First R.A.S. (1827) p. 321 | | |
| 7. Lewis, Parthian Empire., p. 21. | 8. L'Inde Aux Temps des Mauryas, p. 255 | |
| 9. Histoire de l'Extrême-Orient, Vol. I., p. 53. | | |
| 10. CASE. p. 134 | 11. Polybius, XI. 39 | |
| 12. Tarn., p. 73 | | |

It is more than coincidence that almost at the same time as Euthydemus established his authority in Bactria, Asoka died in India. We have already seen what happened after the death of Asoka.¹ From about 235 B.C., when Euthydemus achieved power, until the march of Antiochus III against him in 208, we know little about his career. It is not improbable that he was among those who tried to feed upon the carcass of the dead Mauryan empire. It is likely that Antiochus III, who had probably not forgotten his heritage which was lost to Chandragupta about a hundred years before, was also watching carefully the events in the four outlying provinces of the Mauryan empire. It appears therefore, that when he won victories over the Parthian king, whose name was 'apparently' Artabanus (I)², he intended not only to reclaim in that process the suzerainty over Bactria, but also to recover whatever portions of the Mauryan empire he could.

Euthydemus was already in possession of Aria. His encounter with Antiochus III is described in detail by Polybius.³ The highroad to Bactria crossed the river Arius (modern ~~Kuri~~-rud). Euthydemus had left a large body of his excellent Bactrian cavalry, 10,000 strong, to defend the fords. But taking great risks and with a rapid advance reminding us of those of Alexander, Antiochus was able to throw the major part of his select troops across, before he was discovered at day-break by the opposing cavalry, which had retired from the bank during the night. In the ensuing engagement Euthydemus tried and failed to hold the lower Arius, and withdrew upon his capital Zariaspa (Bactra), where he ^{with} stood

1. Supra. pp 14-15

2. Debevoise, A Political History of Parthia , p. 16

3. Polybius, X.49 , XXIX, 12.8.

a two years siege, a famous episode which popular historians loved to embroider. It became clear to both parties that it was in their mutual interest to come to some compromise, and Euthydemus shrewdly employed the offices of a certain Teleas, a fellow countryman, to initiate the negotiations, and emphasised the need for such a peace by stressing the nomadic danger. It was this mutual danger that helped Euthydemus to win peace with Antiochus who wisely retired and promised to marry his daughter to Demetrius, a son of Euthydemus. We have no definite statement that the marriage took place. Euthydemus was left at peace in his kingdom, but had to surrender elephants to Antiochus. Polybius does not tell us that Euthydemus acknowledged Seleucid suzerainty,¹ but according to Tarn, this is "one thing which matters", and as "the first overtures toward peace came from him, and he surrendered his elephants, probably he did, though it soon became a dead letter."² After his unprofitable encounter with Euthydemus, Antiochus III crossed the Hindu Kush and met "Sophag^asenus, king of the Indians", in the Kabul valley, with whom the Seleucid king "renewed his alliance" and in return received more elephants.³ Having traversed Arachosia and Drangiana, Antiochus III reached Carmania.⁴

It is impossible to say who was the king of Arachosia at this time. "It had once been Asoka. Now it may have been Sophag^asenus. The numismatic evidence suggests that ere long it was Euthydemus."⁵ Polybius

1. Polybius, XI.39 cit.

2. Tarn, p. 82

3. Polybius, XI.39. Cf. Lassen (JASP, 1840, p. 671), "The Indian king apparently engaged in this league as a protection from Euthydemus whose power had already manifested itself in the south of the Caucasus"

4. Polybius, loc. cit.

5. GHI, p. 442

says that it was this expedition in fact, which made Antiochus III appear worthy of his throne. We know that, if coins can tell us anything, not long after Antiochus III left the scene Euthydemus and his son Demetrius occupied some of the Mauryan provinces in the West; but perhaps in the Paropamasidae, Sophagasenus or his successors may have continued to rule for some time strengthened by the alliance with Antiochus III. Thus Arachosia and Drangiana were now added to the kingdom of the Yavanas which already included Bactria, Sogdiana, Aria and Margiana. We shall see below whether these conquests in southern Afghanistan, and also other conquests off the Yavanas towards Ferghana which are suggested by some evidence were due to Euthydemus or to his successors.

Probably Euthydemus did not rule for more than a few years after the departure of Antiochus III in 206. We do not know how the common belief gained ground that he died c. 190 B.C.¹; there is no basis on which to synchronise his death with the battle of Magnesia in 189 B.C. Obviously the war in the far West has no bearing on the death of a king in the East, although it may have indirectly affected the expansion of the Yavana power in certain directions. However, if he succeeded in Bactria c. 235, Euthydemus may have been fifty or more when he met Antiochus III in 208, and since the oldest portraits on his coins do not suggest an age of more than 60, it is fairly certain that he died about 200. Demetrius, his son, who was a young man, νεανίσκος,² of 20 or 25³ in 206 B.C., must have been about 30 when his father died.⁴ Whether

1. CHI., p. 444 ; Tarn, p. 82.

2. Polybius., XI. 39.

3. Cf. Tarn for his estimate, p. 73.

4. Cf. also, Macdonald, CHI., pp. 444-45

Euthydemus had other sons is doubtful; the literary tradition has given us only Demetrius.¹ Tarn has thought of Antimachus and Apollodotus as other possibilities,² which we shall discuss later;³ it will suffice to say here that this supposition is not convincing. But the case for a Euthydemus II may be considered.

There are tetradrachms and smaller denominations of silver bearing the name of Euthydemus, which have on the obverse a youthful bust with draped shoulders, and on the reverse a standing Heracles to front, with a wreath in his extended right hand.⁴ Most of the older Numismatists including Cunningham,⁵ considered these coins to belong to the same Euthydemus, who also issued the seated Heracles type. But an alternative suggestion, based on stylistic consideration, was made by Von Sallet⁶ and Burgon⁷, to the effect that these coins were struck by a second Euthydemus, a son of Demetrius. This theory was generally accepted by later writers⁸ and was re-stated by Macdonald,⁹ though Whitehead had earlier entered a note of caution.¹⁰ Tarn's account of the three sons of ~~Demetrius~~ Euthydemus I and the four sons of

1. Polybius, XI. 39 ; Strabo, XI.11.1-2

2. Tarn, p. 75 f.

3. Infra. p. Ch. III and Ch. V

4. BMC., Pl. III, 3, 4, ; PMC, Pl. I, 27, 28 ; CHI, Pl. III. 4.

5. CASE. pp. 130, 145 .


6. Von Sallet, p. 92

7. Teste CHI. p. 448 ; NC, 1862 pp 262-64

8. Gardner, BMC. p. xxvi-xxvii.

9. Macdonald, CHI. pp. 447-48

10. PMC . p. 10.

Demetrius I is , in fact, based on this scheme of stylistic sequence of coins.¹ But little nuances of style alone do not always give conclusive evidence . Nothing can be deduced from diadem ends;² and that Demetrius was the first Bactrian king to be portrayed with draped shoulders is not certain, for the fact that Antimachus is also portrayed in like manner in no way proves that he was later than Demetrius.³ Similarly , it has rightly been shown ⁴ that the view that the " bead and reel"border became popular after Demetrius I is not true.⁵ The die-adjustment  also cannot have started with Euthydemus I.⁶ In the early period of Bactrian history, when new areas were being occupied and consequently new mints were opened, it was only natural that various experiments in style should be made; and to distinguish new kings only on the basis of such minor changes in style is definitely risky, at least if there is no ^{other} reason to warrant such an assumption. On the other hand , portraits and types are valuable, and sometimes more helpful than mere variations of style; it is agreed that the Indo-Greek portraits on the coins are remarkable as works of art.⁷ But here again we should be forewarned before making conclusions. It is easy to distinguish two kings of the same name on the basis of varying facial features, only if a limited number of coins circulated in a defined

1. Tarn, pp. 75-78

2. Bivar, NC. 1951 p. 22 f. . Besides several coins of Euthydemus I, cp. also a coin of Demetrius I with one diadem end down in Newell, Royal Greek Portrait Coins , Pl. IX.5 , Whitehead, NC. 1947, Pl. I.3

3. Infra. pp. 76-78

4. Bivar, op.cit. Pl. IV.

5. A coin of Antimachus Theos with a similar border is now known from Kunduz hoard, cf. Plate Appendix.

6. Supra .p. 27

7. Newell, Royal Greek Portrait Coins. p. 66

area, and if the types used are widely different; and the numismatic data must link up with other circumstantial evidence to make such a distinction necessary. If we are entitled to distinguish rulers merely on the basis of style, why should we not have several rulers of the name of Euthydemus and Eucratides ? But when all is said , the fact remains that the coins of a Euthydemus which bear the standing Heracles on the reverse, have a remarkable individuality of style. Apart from the portrait which does not at all fit in the series of portraits , rather varying, of Euthydemus whose coins bear the seated Heracles type, the coins of this new king appear to represent Heracles in a singular way which is not typically Greek¹, though it recurs on the coins of Zoilus I.² We may , therefore, believe that there were two Euthydemus. But, since we have seen that there are no substantial grounds to regard Euthydemus II as of a later generation than Demetrius or as Demetrius' son, we feel inclined to take him as another son of Euthydemus I,³ probably younger than Demetrius. The types of Demetrius and Euthydemus II would then indicate that the old Heracles,⁴ who on the coins of old Euthydemus I was seated as if after his labours, stands up with fresh vigour to conquer new lands;⁵ and , as we shall ^{see} below, this supposition may also explain the nickel coins issued by Euthydemus II.

1. Trever, op.cit., p. 130

2. PMC. Pl. VII. 524-525

3. Cf. also Kozolubski, Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin, 1951, p.228 , who says that this suggestion was made by some early writer on this subject.

4. Trever, op.cit., p. 117 , notes that Heracles on Rev. agrees with the portrait of Euthydemus on the Obv.

5. Cf. also Tarn., p. 93. About Demetrius' type, "the new king envisaged fresh labour and conquests."

Tarn is probably right when he says that, after the departure of Antiochus III, Euthydemus I began to develop his kingdom in such directions as were open to him, without inviting a fresh attack by the Seleucid¹; actually Antiochus III was the last/agggressor in the Seleucid East.² On the evidence of Strabo,³ ~~quoting Apollodorus~~, Tarn thought that some time subsequent to 206 Euthydemus occupied the Parthian satrapies of Astauene and Apavartikene and perhaps part of Parthyene, which became the Bactrian satrapies of Tapuria and Traxiane.⁴ But the relevant passage in Strabo only says that, "the Greeks took possession of it and divided it into satrapies, of which the satrapy of Turiva and that of Aspionus were taken away from Eucratides by the Parthians."⁵ It is not stated clearly that these satrapies were conquered by Euthydemus.

While discussing the conquests in southern Afghanistan and Eastern Iran, Tarn ~~in~~ writes that Demetrius annexed to his kingdom Aria, Arachosia and Seistan.⁶ Euthydemus first met Antiochus III on the river Arius⁷ and it is probable that Aria was already occupied by the former. That Demetrius conquered Arachosia seems to be certain, Isidore of Charax mentions the city of Demetrius in Arachosia.⁸ Tarn is right that

1. Tarn . p. 83. pp. 90-92

2. Cf. ~~infra. p. XI.11.2~~. There is no evidence of any attempt made by Antiochus IV. cf. also, Altheim, I, pp. 21-23, II pp. 40, 53-55.

3. Strabo, XI.7.3, XI.11.2-3

4. Tarn, p. 88

5. Strabo, XI.11.2

6. Tarn, p. 93

7. Supra, p. 31

8. Parthian Stations, p. 8 f.

Euthydemus must have been dead before the attack was made, otherwise Demetrias in Arachosia would have been named Euthydemia.¹ It is possible that expansion in these directions in the south took place in about 190 B.C. when it was clear that Antiochus III was too much involved in his own affairs to interfere; it need not necessarily have followed his defeat in the battle of Magnesia in 189. The claim to Seistan is, however, not very explicit. But for a few scattered coins of Euthydemus and Demetrius we have little evidence to support it,² Tarn's reference to Justin XLI.6.3 for a list of the provinces taken by Eucratides from the Euthydemid sub-kings³ is misleading because there seems to be no such list. Justin only says that the Bactrians, harried with various wars, lost not only their dominions, but their liberty; for having suffered from contentions with the Sogdians, the ~~Drangians~~ Arachosians, the Drangians, the Arians, and the Indians, they were at last overcome, as if exhausted, by the weaker Parthians.⁴ If the Drangians denote some areas in Seistan we might feel, taking into consideration the few coins that have been found there, that it was included in the Yavana kingdom during the period of the sons of Euthydemus I. We must also note that

1. Tarn, p. 93

2. Rapson, *JRAS*, 1904, pp. 673-80

3. Tarn, pp. 93, fn. 4; 199 fn. 3, 4.

4. Justin, XLI.6.3. "Bactriani Sogdianorum et Arachotorum et Drangarum et Areorum Indorumque bellis fatigati ad postremum ab invalidioribus Parthis oppressi sunt." In some editions, however, Arachosia and Aria are **omitted**.

the coin- types of both Euthydemus and Demetrius were used by the early Scytho-Parthian kings of Arachosia.¹ We agree with Tarn that Demetrias in Arachosia was situated somewhere between Seistan and Ghazni,² as is evident from Isidore's account.

Demetrius certainly never conquered Carmania, but it is possible that he held the eastern part of Gedrosia³. The idea that it was governed not from Demetrias in Arachosia but Demetrias in Sind is given up by Tarn because of the doubtful evidence for the latter city.⁴ Some coins of early Yavana kings have been found in Baluchistan⁵ but they are not sufficient to confirm the occupation of a portion of that region.

To the northward, with Sogdiana already in their hands, if we are to believe, with Strabo⁶, the statement of Apollodorus, the Greeks of Bactria " extended their empire even as far as the Seres and the Phryni." Before we discuss these conquests it is important to determine, if possible , the exact location of these people.

It is generally agreed that Apollodorus' work is rather too early for the term Seres, used therein, to denote the Chinese.⁷ Pliny has preserved a notice of the Seres which has nothing to do with China; he mentions ~~of~~ them as a very tall race with red hair and blue eyes,

1. PMC. Pl. XIV, 379, 385-386. Cf. also infra. p. 256

2. Tarn, p. 94.

3. Ibid. p. 93

4. Ibid. p. 93-94, Addenda p. 524, 526; Cf. also, Johnston, JRAS 1939 , p. 217, 1940, p. 189 ; contra. Tarn, JRAS . 1940, p. 179

5. Rapson, NC, 1904, pp. 319-21

6. Strabo, XI, 11.1

7. Herrmann, Das Land der Seide und Tibet in Lichte der Antike p. 27 f. Tarn, p. 110; Altheim, I. p. 347-48

Leipzig 1938
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living north of the montes Hemodes (Himalayas).¹ It has been supposed that the Seres of Apollodorus and Pliny are connected and that they should be located somewhere in the Tarim basin.² Hennig identified the blonde Seres of Pliny with Tochari.³ Tarn commends the view of Herrmann that Pliny's Seres might be the Wu-Sun, or that section of the Tochari-Yueh Chih who had remained behind in the Wu-Sun country.⁴ But as to the Seres of Apollodorus, both Herrmann and Tarn prefer to regard them as middlemen for the Chinese trade, who dwelt near Issyk-kol.⁵ The Phryni, (Phuni, Phruri) too, are difficult to locate. For some time the common view has been that they were the Hsiung-nu.⁶ But Tarn and Altheim, have both strongly rejected this theory,⁷ although they are unable to offer a certain alternative; they seem to regard Phryni, either as a general term for the peoples^{of} the Kashgar-Yarkand or the Khotan country,⁸ or simply as peoples of Eastern Turkestan.⁹ Cunningham had made a plausible suggestion about these people.¹⁰ He noted that instead of Σήρων some Mss read Σύρων, which he believed to be the true reading, and the equivalent of which he found in Su-lê, the old Chinese name of Kashgar.¹¹ Similarly, he took the Phryni (Phuni,

1. Pliny, VI. ~~XXIV~~. 88

2. Herrmann, loc. cit.; Tarn, p. 111

3. Z.F. Kassenkunde, II 1935, p. 90, feste Tarn p. 110

4. Herrmann, op. cit. p. 28; Tarn, loc. cit.

5. Herrmann, op. cit. p. 27 f.; Tarn, loc. cit.; A. Berthelot seemingly located Pliny's Seres in Siberia, cf. L'Asie ancienne centrale et sud-Orientale d'après Ptolémée ^{Paris 1938} p. 239.

6. Herrmann, loc. cit.; Namio Egami, Eurasia Kodai Hoppo Bunka, 2nd. edition 1950, pp. 334-35

7. Tarn, p. 84; Altheim, p. 348-49; also, E.A. Thompson, A History of Attila and the Huns, p. 20 (Oxford 1948)

8. Tarn, p. 85

9. Altheim, p. 349.

10. Cunningham, CASE, p. 148-49

11. Wylie, (Journal of Anthropological Institute) X, p. 48

Phruri, etc,) as identical with Phu-li. It appears that the people mentioned by Cunningham are the P'u-li of the Ch'ien Han Shu, who are described as 500 li south of Su-le, and who have been located near Tashkurgan, a little west of Yarkand, on the direct route from Kashgar to Gilgit.¹ Since the Seres and the Phryni appear to have inhabited contiguous areas, their identification with Su-le and P'u-li² (Kashgar and the area near Tashkurgan) may be considered likely. Kashgar was an important city on the route between China on the one hand and the "Western regions" on the other; it may well be regarded as the door to China, and from Kashgar, according to the Chinese historian Pan-Ku, "the road to the Ta-Yueh-Chih, Ta wan and K'ang-kiu lies direct to the west"³ It is not improbable, therefore, that the name Seres which was first given to Kashgar (Su-lo, Su-le, Sha-lo)⁴ was later applied to the whole of China, just as the name Chi-Pin came to denote in course of time the whole of Kashmir and in some cases probably the whole of Kuṣāṇa empire.⁵ The name India itself is such an example. The theory that the Seres and the Phryni of Apollodorus denote areas or peoples east of the line drawn from Kashgar to Tashkurgan would involve us in many difficulties.

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1. Cf. map III. Also, Herrmann, Die Alten Seidenstrassen map. *zwischen China und Syrien* Berlin 1910
 2. Shiratori, also had favoured this identification. (on Prof. Enoki's authority)
 3. Wylie, X. p. 48
 4. cf. Herrmann, Atlas of China, Harvard, 1935.
 5. Infra. pp. 216-17

But does the statement of Apollodorus imply that the Greeks occupied these areas ? If they did we have hardly any evidence for it. It is interesting to note that in the Śaka documents in Kharoṣṭhī found in Chinese Turkestan the word Yonu or Yona¹ (= Yavana) is used as a proper name, and two words for coins, Satera (Sadera, S(r)adera)² and Trakhme (Drakhme),³ occur repeatedly, and must stand for the Greek Stater and Drachm. A word milima is also thought to be of Greek origin, derived from μέδιμνος (bushel)⁴. We can not suppose that these words were brought by traders from Roman Asia in Imperial times, for it is impossible that they could have used the word stater⁵. It is very probable that these words passed into Chinese Turkestan from India in the course of trade and were used by Indian traders settled in these areas as early as the latter part of the first century B.C.⁶ No Greek stater and for that matter no drachms of early Yavana kings have been found there. With the exception of a few gold pieces of Eucratides and Menander, no Yavana kings later than Euthydemus are known to have struck staters⁷; but the word survived as a measure of weight in some

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1. Thomas, JRAS, 1924, p. 672; Boyer, Rapson, Senart: Stein's Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions from Chinese Turkestan, p. 15 no. 46, p. 29 no. 79, p. 50 no. 129, p. 79 no. 204.
 2. Thomas, op.cit., p. 671, JRAS, 1926, p. 507; Boyer, Rapson, Senart, op.cit. p. 15 no. 43, p. 118 no. 324, p. 150 no. 419
 3. Thomas, loc.cit.; Boyer, Rapson, Senart, loc.cit.
 4. Thomas, JRAS, 1930, p. 204; Burrow, BSOS, VII., 1935, p. 785
 5. Tarn, p. 85
 6. Stein, Asia Major, Hirth Anniversary volume, 1923, pp. 367-72

7. Whitehead, NC, 1940, p. 105.

Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of India,¹ and the symbols of all the three coins Stater, Drachm and obol, are given in a Silver Saucer Inscription from Taxila.² However, on the basis of two occurrences of the word παρεμβολή³ camp, Tarn thinks that since this word points to Greek military occupation rather than trade, it is probable that the coin-names are survivals of Euthydemus' conquest,⁴ though he admits it is not possible to prove this point. We are not inclined to believe in the probability of an event of such far reaching consequences only on the ground of two occurrences of a word in literature separated by about five centuries from the actual time of that event.⁵ Tomaschek once argued that the dissemination of the vine in Central Asia is connected with Macedonian Greek rule over these parts,⁶ but Laufer remarked that this is decidedly wrong, for the vine grows throughout Northern Iran, and vine-culture is certainly older in these areas than in Greece.⁷ He also noted that nothing Greek has yet been found in any Mss. from Chinese Turkestan.⁸ Apart from the absence of Indo-Greek coins, even the early Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coins do not reflect any Greek influence. Not

1. Konow, CII, No. XXXVII, 3 and 4 (pp. 93-99); also Konow, Acta Orientalia , VI, 1928, p. 255

2. ASR, 1929-30, pp. 62, no. 46 and 63; Marshall, Taxila, I pp. 157, 188

3. Acta Orientalia, XIV, II, p. 109

4. Tarn, p. 86 f.

5. T. Burrow: The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan, Cambridge 1937
Introduction, p. v.

6. Journal of China Branch RAS., XIV, pp. 5, 19; also, Hirth, JAOS , XXXVII, 1917, p. 146.

7. Laufer, Sino-Iranica, p. 226

8. Laufer, loc. cit.

until Ch'ang Ch'ien reached Ferghana did he meet people who wanted to contact the Chinese, and this clearly shows that all the regions east of Ferghana were closed lands to the Western peoples before the time of Ch'ang Ch'ien's visit.¹ Tarn postulated these conquests apparently to account for the gold supply.² But this was a needless worry, since the Kavasas or for that matter all the Greeks in the Middle East used little gold money; and what need they had of gold they could probably meet without looking towards Siberia. Chinese literature knows of four kinds of foreign silver and five kinds of foreign gold; the gold of Persia is mentioned and gold dust is specially attributed to the country of the Arabs.³ In India gold was produced in the south and the early literature shows that it was well known in the north, but it was not needed for coinage⁴ until the time of the Kuṣāṇas and Guptas, when gold coinage became popular perhaps on account of Roman trade. Keeping these facts in view the utmost we can justifiably say is that the Greeks of Bactria may have conquered some parts beyond Sogdiana in the east; and the statements of Apollodorus⁵ - "as far as the Seres and the Phryni" - here indicates only an exclusive rather than an inclusive limit.

1. Hirth, p. 94

2. Tarn, p. 104 f. The whole question of the gold route has been discussed at length.

3. Laufer, op.cit. pp. 509-10

4. Burn, JRAS, 1941, p. 66.

5. Strabo, XI.11.1

the nomads of the north,¹ and that danger might well have been a real one. So when Antiochus had departed, and Euthydemus I started on his career of expansion, he entrusted to Demetrius the conquest of the south and to another son Euthydemus II that of north; the final success in both directions was probably achieved when Demetrius had succeeded him. It is not impossible that the copper coins of the Euthydemid which have a 'free prancing horse' on one side may have something to do with the 'heavenly horses' in Ferghana.² Thus the Yavanas of Bactria extended their kingdom to Sogdiana and possibly beyond towards Ferghana in the North and North-east, Aria and Margiana in the West, and Arachosia and Drangiana in the south, Demetrius ruled over all this region, and his younger brother, who shows no change on his coins, must have predeceased him, after ^{possibly} ruling for some time as a joint-king.

It is almost universally accepted that it was Demetrius who crossed the Hindu Kush and made himself master of the Kabul and the Indus Valleys. In spite of the warning that, "when we try to take him further, we enter a doubtful region,"³ Tarn has asserted that, "he (Demetrius) ruled from the Jaxartes to the Gulf of Cambay, from the Persian desert to the Middle Ganges."⁴ Traditions though not always based on sound evidence, die hard. But after a careful analysis of the

1. Polybius, XI. 39

2. Wylie, **X**. p. 44

3. Macdonald, CHI. p. 416.

4. Tarn, p. 155

sources we may be compelled to revise our opinion.

The Kabul Valley or the Paropamisadae¹ in the Western classical sources, was ceded by Seleucus to Candragupta ;² it was in the possession of Asoka,³ and was ruled by Sophagasenus 'king of India' , when Antiochus III visited him in 206. There is nothing to indicate that any attempt was made to suppress him, nor do we know how long Sophagasenus or his dynasty continued to rule. Since Antiochus III renewed the dynastic friendship with him and the latter in return helped him with a contingent ~~of~~ of elephants, Sophagasenus was probably strong enough , especially after this new alliance, to meet any immediate intrusion into his territory. Tarn has noted that it cannot be said whether Euthydemus I or Demetrius acquired the Paropamisadae prior to 184 and that its history between 206 and " Demetrius' invasion of India" is a blank.⁴ But since the theory of Demetrius' "conquest" of India is unlikely unless ^{the} his possession of the Kabul and/Indus valleys is shown, Tarn made a sweeping statement later," it is just possible that the Paropamisadae were his already; anyhow he took Gandhara, crossed the Indus, and occupied Taxila." ⁵

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1. The forms Paropanisadae and Parapanisadae also occur; Strabo spells Paropamisadae and Arrian Parapamisadae. cf. for a geographical definition, Tarn, p. 96; see Map. II & III
 2. Strabo, XV.1.10., 2.9. ; cf. CHI. pp. 431, 472
 3. The discovery of the Aramaic inscription of Asoka in Laghman confirms the general view that Asoka's dominion included Kabul valley; Tarn assumed that Lampaka had remained in Greek hands since Alexander's time (p.96), and put the frontier between Chandragupta and the Greeks along the Kunar river (p. 100). Cf. W.B. Henning, BSOAS, 1949 pp.80 ff.
 4. Tarn., pp. 101-2
 5. Ibid., p. 135. cf. Whitehead, NC. 1940, p. 94, " The campaign is described by Dr. Tarn in the ordinary language of conquest."

But practically the only evidence for this supposition consists of the bilingual coins bearing the name of a certain Demetrius; the silver tetradrachm with standing Zeus holding a thunderbolt and sceptre¹ and the square copper coin having a winged Thunderbolt on the reverse.² On the silver coin there is a portrait of the king wearing a flat Kausia like that on the coins of Antimachus Theos,³ and on the copper there is a bust, in no way a portrait, wearing an elephant scalp of clumsy delineation which is not very similar in style to the one used by the Demetrius of the well known Attic silver tetradrachms.⁴ Both these issues have legends in Greek on the obverse and in Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse. Apart from this new feature it is also remarkable that the king takes the title of Aniketos (Kharoṣṭhī, Apadihatasa). Cunningham,⁵ who discovered the copper, and Whitehead,⁶ who discovered the remarkable silver coin, which is still unique, thought these coins to belong to Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus I. Macdonald distinguished a second Demetrius on coins which bear the figure of helmeted Pallas, standing, holding spear and shield⁷. Tarn has combined all these types of issue

1. NC, 1923, Pl. XIV, 2

2. PMC., Pl. I. 26

3. Cp. Plate App. Pl. I, Nos. 2-4 & 6

4. Cp. Plate App. Pl. I. 1 and PMC, Pl. I. 26

5. CASE, pp. 133, 159

6. NC, 1923, pp. 301, 318, but he has noted the similarity with the coin attributed to Demetrius II by Macdonald (CHI., p. 418)

7. CHI., p. 448, Pl. III. 5. ~~Gf. also Plate App.~~

and has attributed them to a supposed second son of Demetrius I bearing the same name.¹ And he has further maintained that Demetrius II coined for his father, not for himself;² on silver money he put his father's title and on copper not only the title but also his father's head. He explained this oddity by postulating that, "the tetradrachms would circulate principally among Greeks, who understood the position, hence his own head. But the copper coins would circulate, or so it was hoped, among Indians, who might not understand; hence his father's head."³ And he thinks that the introduction of the Kharoṣṭhī legend was the result of a "radical development in policy (which) could only have been due to Demetrius himself, not to any sub-king, and (this) proves yet again that Demetrius II was coining to his father's instructions."⁴ This conclusion is not only very speculative but an unjustifiable inference from the numismatic evidence. Why of all the four sons of Demetrius I suggested by Tarn was it only the second son,⁵ not the eldest, who coined for his father, using his father's title and father's head, but never the type of his father, nothing related with the cult

1. Tarn, pp. 77-78

2. Ibid. pp. 138, 156

3. Ibid., loc. cit.

4. Ibid., loc. cit.

5. Tarn (p. 78), refers to Demetrius II as the second son of Demetrius I. But, on the other hand the analogy which he provides (p. 138) is that of Antiochus I, who was the eldest son and successor of Seleucus I (cf. NC. 1883, pp. 67-71), and was a crown prince.

of Heracles ? If silver was meant for the Greeks who could "understand the position", what was the need of the Kharoṣṭhī legend ? Where is the evidence , other than these coins, that Demetrius I had taken the title of Aniketos,¹ so that simply putting this title on the silver money was deemed ~~xxxxxxx~~ sufficient to show that Demetrius II was acting in the interest of his father ? And the most important objection to Tarn's view is that the silver bilingual coin bearing the name of Demetrius is not of the Attic weight; if it were meant for the Greeks it should have been an Attic tetradrachm. On the other hand, if the copper coins were for the Indians, who might not understand the position, how are they supposed to have been familiar with the head of Demetrius I , who did not strike coins in India, as Tarn also admits,² and whose coins are not known to have circulated in those areas ? It is strange that Demetrius I, who, according to Tarn,³ ruled over a considerable part of India, should on entering the Kabul valley, have permitted his son to strike coins, when the son had no status , and according to Tarn, merely accompanied his father to the Paropamisadae. Demetrius I does not figure on the coins found in Begram and other places in the Kabul Valley.⁴ In the big treasure found recently in Mir Zakah Demetrius I's coins are altogether

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1. No coins of Demetrius I (with elephant-scalp headdress) bears the epithet Aniketos; For ~~thaxtix~~ its occurrence on the Commemorative piece of Agathocles, cf. infra. pp. 82-83, 97-98 .
 2. Tarn., p. 139
 3. Ibid., p. 155
 4. Masson, JASE. 1836, p. 547; Though usually specific in details , Cunningham , CASE, pp. 146-159, while dealing with Demetrius, is not so in regard to the geographical distribution of Demetrius' coins. He is apparently more impressed by the square copper coin with the bilingual legends than by the actual discovery of Demetrius' coins in the Kabul valley; cf. also, Gardner, BMC., p. xxv, Whitehead, NNM 13, p. 15, In NC. 1923, p. 318, Whitehead says that the Bilingual silver tetradrachm is not from the Kabul find.

absent.¹ Tarn has said in one place that Demetrius I presumably took title of Aniketos after crossing the Indus, because he hoped to be a second Alexander.² We have ~~no~~ no other example of such unparalleled disinterestedness on the part of a king who was ambitious enough to emulate Alexander, but chose to record the most important event of his career only on the coins of an insignificant son. Obviously there is much confusion somewhere, which we shall take up in the next chapter.³ Here we need only say that no coins of Demetrius I have been reported as found in the Kabul valley and that the bilingual coins belong to another Demetrius, whoever he may have been; we have no reason to believe that he struck coins under instructions from Demetrius I.

With no evidence for the occupation of the Kabul valley, the claim of Demetrius I's conquest over Gandhāra loses strength. Gandhāra included Takṣaśilā among other areas.⁴ And out of 519 coins discovered in Taxila excavations there is only one copper coin with Trident bearing the name of Demetrius,⁵ which probably belongs to the other Demetrius.⁶ There are other places in Gandhāra in which numberless coins of Yavana rulers, even of those who probably did not rule there,

1. Schlumberger, p. 75

2. Tarn., p. 132

3. Cf. infra., pp. 82-85, 93, also p. 61

4. Tarn., p. 135; Whitehead, NC. 1940, p. 109, and others have ~~have~~ excluded Takṣaśilā from the geographical boundary of the Gandhāra but we have included it. cf. Rapson, CHI., p. 552; Raychaudhuri, PHAI., p. 247. In the literary sources Puṣkalāvati and Takṣaśilā have been considered as the two chief centres of Gandhāra, cf. IHQ. 1953, pp. 14-15

5. Marshall, Taxila, II., p. 798

6. cf. infra., p. 84

have been found, but none of Demetrius I. There is only one inscription mentioning a Yavana king in an area otherwise rich in epigraphic remains, but this bears the name not of Demetrius but of Menander.¹ Nor is there any literary evidence from the west to show the existence of any city called Demetrias in Paropamisadae and Gandhāra, as we have noticed in Arachosia. But Tarn believed that Demetrius I built a new city in Takṣaśilā, on Sirkap, to be his capital, to which he transferred the population of old Takṣaśilā.² The fact remains, however, that until now the excavations of Taxila have failed to show any major settlement of the Greeks of a permanent nature.³

1. Bajaur Inscription, cf. Ep. Ind. XXIV., pp. 1-8 ; cf. infra. pp. 125-126

2. Tarn., p. 137

3. Marshall's stratification of Sirkap was found to be incorrect in the excavations carried out by R.E.M. Wheeler and A. Ghosh in 1944-45. (cf. Ancient India, Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 4., pp. 41 ff.). The so called Indo-Greek layers, Sirkap V and VI, actually do not exist, and "the only occupation prior to the fourth city of Marshall's series consisted of a few pits cut into the natural soil." "Systematic occupation begins here with the construction of the city wall c. 50 B.C. after the end of the Indo-Greek regime." (p. 84). But curiously enough Wheeler assumes, that an Indo-Greek settlement may have existed, but if it did we must await for some fortunate archaeologist's spade. Meanwhile the fact remains that even purely on grounds of stratification there is no proof of an Indo-Greek city at Sirkap. Moreover, Marshall's Indo-Greek layers have not revealed remarkably distinct Greek objects either qualitatively or quantitatively. The material remains, e.g. pottery, terracotta, etc. do not differ from those of the Śaka layers. And above all, it is very significant that out of 471 Indo-Greek coins found at Sirkap, only 30 are recorded in the so-called Indo-Greek strata whereas in those same layers there have been found 61 Śaka-Pahlava coins. The majority of the Indo-Greek coins (316) are found in II and III layers.

Takṣaśilā is well known for its restiveness under the Mauryas¹ and if Tārānātha is to be believed a certain Vīrasena was ruling Candhāra some time after Asoka.² If Sophagasenus was a descendent of Vīrasena,³ he may have ruled both the Paropamisadae and Gandhāra. We cannot say whether he issued coins or not, but even if he did they can not now be identified among the many later Punch-marked coins. But there is no doubt that some of the Taxila coins which bear the legends Negamā, Paṃcanekame and Hirañasame, and probably many of the local uninscribed copper coins also, were struck in the period between the fall of the Mauryas and the occupation by the Yavānas.⁴ Apart from the fact that the conquest of Takṣaśilā as early as the reign of Demetrius would scarcely allow sufficient time for these numerous coins to be issued, it is strange that, if he conquered the area, the local types did not influence his currency. Even if we suppose with Tarn that the bilingual square copper money was struck under his instructions, its mere shape does not necessarily indicate Taxilian influence; it could well have been struck in the Kabul valley. The characteristic features distinctive of Takṣaśilā first appears on the coins of Agathocles and, curiously enough, Tarn thinks that he never ruled there.⁵ In fact, Tarn himself has admitted that one of the great difficulties

1. Phal ⁶, p. 363

2. A. Schiefner, Geschichte Des Buddhismus in Indien, p. 50-52

3. Thomas, IA. 1875, p. 362., for other references cf. supra: p. 15

4. Allan, BMC. Ancient India, p. cxxxix, "... The copper coinage of Taxila seems to have been a short lived one, beginning late in the 3rd. century B.C. and ending with the Greek conquest before the middle of the second century." Cf. also, Allan in Marshall's Taxila, II. p. 855, and Marshall in fn. 2, loc. cit.

5. Tarn., pp. 159-60. But contra. Allan, op. cit., p. 857; Cf. also, infra. p. 97

in reconstruction has been that the coin-type used by the Greeks for Takṣaśilā was unknown.¹ He adds that the Takṣaśilā type ought to be discoverable on Takṣaśilā's own coinage. That coinage uses among several types, the lion, the humped bull, the horse and the elephant.² Tarn takes the elephant as the missing type of Takṣaśilā³ and though he recognises the difficulty in one place he alludes elsewhere in his book to "the Elephant of Taxila"⁴. Whitehead has pointed out that the elephant is found on no more than three of Allan's nine classes of local Takṣaśilā money and only on 47 of the 171 specimens described. The elephant and the bull are Indian animals par excellence and constantly recur on ~~many~~ many series.⁵ If any of the Takṣaśilā animals was used with other types by Agathocles on his coins it was the lion.⁶ And certainly the copper bilingual coin bearing the name of a Demetrius has nothing to do with Takṣaśilā.⁷

But it has been supposed⁸ that Demetrius did not stop at Takṣaśilā. He had two possible lines of advance on either side of the

1. Tarn., p. 163

2. Allan, in Marshall's Taxila., II. p. 855.

3. Tarn., p. 163

4. Ibid., pp. 164, 314.

5. In Marshall's Taxila, II. pp. 831-32. Cf. BMC. Ancient India., p. 214 f.

6. Tarn's theory based on Allan, BMC Ancient India, p. xxvi, that the elephant was particularly associated with Eran and Takṣaśilā and thus possessed local significance, loses strength, in view of the fact that Allan himself has, since modified his opinion, Marshall's Taxila, II., p. 832.

7. BMC., p. 17 ; BMC., p. 11

8. "The matter would admit of no doubt if the Greeks had adopted the well known Taxila* mark, or perhaps if they had reproduced the deity of whom it is tempting to think as the city goddess of Taxila." Whitehead in Marshall's Taxila, II., p. 832.

9. Tarn., p. 140

Indian desert, one down the Indus and the other eastward to the Ganges valley. It is claimed that the aim of Demetrius I was to restore the huge derelict empire of the Mauryas, but under Greek rule and with himself on the throne of Asoka,¹ for, according to Tarn, Demetrius was a Seleucid on the distaff side and the Maurya dynasty was descended from or anyhow connected with, Seleucus; so Demetrius might well have regarded himself, if not as the next heir, at any rate as the heir nearest at hand.² This was an ambitious plan, for a king who has left fewer coins than at least a dozen of his successors, and it was hardly possible to achieve the feat alone; so Tarn suggests that Demetrius I was fortunate in having two able commanders in Apollodotus and Menander,³ besides his hypothetical grown-up sons who managed his affairs in other parts of his empire.⁴ And thus Tarn pleads for literal Greek 'conquest' over country extending from Kabul in a straight line nine hundred miles south to Broach and eleven hundred miles east to Patna.⁵ This brilliant reconstruction would indeed be remarkable, if it were based on more solid foundations. Several authorities, however, have believed in the substance of Tarn's story, though disagreeing on its details.⁶

1. Tarn., p. 152

2. Ibid., pp. 152-53

3. Ibid., p. 140 ; But cf. infra. pp. 103-10, 119-21, 201-2, Menander and Apollodotus are not contemporary to Demetrius I.

4. Ibid., p. 134 (Euthydemus II), p. 137 (Demetrius II), p. 156 (Pantaleon) and p. 157 f. (Agathocles)

5. Ibid., p. 155.

6. E.g., Marshall, Taxila, cf. his Preface, p. xix.

M. Rostovtzeff, The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World, 3 vols. Oxford. 1941 see, especially portions on Bactria. There are many other scholars who have accepted the substance of Tarn's story.

We shall discuss the actual extent and influence of the Yavana power in India in the appropriate chapter.¹ Meanwhile we examine the evidence on which Tarn bases his claim for Demetrius I's far reaching conquests.

There are only two passages which refer to a certain Demetrius in connection with India so far as the western classical sources are concerned. One is in Justin,² who says, while describing the career of Eucratides, that, "Eucratides, however, carried on several wars with great spirit, and though much reduced by his losses in them, yet, when he was besieged by Demetrius king of Indians, with a garrison of only three hundred soldiers, he repulsed, by continual sallies, a force of sixty thousand enemies."³

~~Whereth~~ We are not certain who this Demetrius was, since the passage does not say that he was the son of Euthydemus, but he was certainly a contemporary of Eucratides who flourished in the same period as Mithridates I of Parthia.⁴ He is called in the passage 'regis Indorum' but this is vague and it may well mean India in the limited sense, with

1. Infra., ~~pt~~ ch. IV.

2. Justin, XLI. 6.

3. " Multa tamen Eucratides bella magna virtute gessit, quibus adtritum cum obsidione Demetrii, regis Indorum, pateretur, cum CCC militibus LX milia hostium adsiduis eruptionibus vicit."

4. Justin, XLI. 6. " Eodem ferme tempore, sicut in Parthis Mithridates, ita in Bactris Eucratides, magni uterque viri, regna ineunt."

which the western classical sources seem to have been more familiar;
 it was in this/narrower sense that Sophagasenus was called 'king of India'.¹
 Another point which is manifest from the passage in Justin, is that
 Eucratides could successfully outmanoeuvre with only three hundred men
 a king who had a large force - though the number 60,000 seems grossly
 exaggerated² - and that this Demetrius fought him alone.

The second passage is in Strabo,³ who quotes Apollodorus of
 Artemita that, " More tribes were subdued by them ⁴ than by Alexander -
 - mostly⁵ by Menander, (at least if he actually crossed the Hypanis &
 towards the east and advanced as far as the Imaus), for some were
 subdued by him personally and others by Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus
 the king of the Bactrians; and they took possession, not only of Patalene
 but also, on the rest of the coast, of what is called the kingdom of
 Saraostes and Sigerdia. In short, Apollodorus says that Bactriana is
 the ornament of Ariana as a whole; and more than that, they extended
 their empire even as far as the Seres and the Phryni. "

1. Polybius , XI.39

2. Watson, (Translation of Justin in Bohn Classical Library series),
 p. 277, ~~fr~~ calls this figure "very improbable". Cf. also Tarn, p. 200,
 "The figure 60,000 is naturally untrustworthy."

3. Strabo, XI.11.1-2.

4. " The Greeks who caused Bactria to revolt "

5. The word *μάλιστα* is translated by H.L.Jones as "in particular"
 in the Loeb series, (Strabo, ^{vol.} V, p. 279)

But before we analyse this passage we must take notice of two other passages in Strabo. He notes in one place,¹ " At any rate, Apollodorus who wrote 'the Parthica', when he mentions the Greeks who caused Bactriana to revolt from the Syrian kings who succeeded Seleucus Nicator, says that when those kings had grown in power they also attacked India, but he reveals nothing further than what was already known, and even contradicts what was known, saying that those kings subdued more of India than the Macedonians; that Eucratides, at any rate held a thousand cities as his subjects. " On another occasion Strabo noted,² " Of the eastern parts of India, then, there have become known to us all those parts which lie this side of the Hypanis, and also any parts ~~whxzh~~ beyond the Hypanis of which an account has been added by those who, ~~afkw~~ after Alexander, advanced beyond the Hypanis, as far as the Ganges and Palibothra. "

We have quoted these relevant passages from Strabo to show that the general impression they leave is that Apollodorus was not thought to be very reliable, and that he contradicted what was already known. Strabo has quite explicit doubts especially about Apollodorus' information that the Greeks of Bactria actually crossed the Hypanis, and that they subdued more of India than the Macedonians. And in the last passage quoted above, ² " ...those who, after Alexander, advanced beyond the Hypanis, as far as the Ganges and Palibothra", might not indicate the

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1. Strabo, XV. 1.-3
 2. Ibid., XV.1.27-28.

military expedition of the " Greek kings of Bactria " and cannot exclude the possibility of the reference being to the envoys and travellers like Megasthenes who visited these parts later than Alexander. We fail to understand that the word *προελθόντες* shows that a military expedition is meant and that the passage implies that Pāṭaliputra was taken.¹ The word *προ-έρχονται* means simply ' to go on ', ' to go forward ', ' to advance ' and in none of the examples given by Liddell and Scott is a military expedition implied.² Moreover, a confusion between the envoys and kings who followed Alexander is quite likely,³ for there is a passage in Pliny⁴ where Alexander , Seleucus and Antiochus (reges) are contrasted with Megasthenes and Dionysius (auctores).

But in spite of these doubts cast on the value of Apollodorus' statements we are much indebted to Strabo for having honestly preserved them with his own remarks, and we must now consider the chief passage with which we are concerned. It is very clear that Menander was the most prominent among those Greek kings, who conquered more territories in India than Alexander, if Apollodorus is to be believed.⁵ The other personage who is also supposed to have conquered some regions of

1. Tarn., p. 144 , fn. 6

2. Liddell and Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, 8th. Edition, 1901, Oxford, p. 1282

3. Altheim., I. p. 327

4. Pliny. VI. 58

5. "καὶ πλείω ἔθνη κατεστρέψαντο ἢ Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ μάλιστα Μένανδρος -----"

India is Demetrius , who is mentioned as " the son of Euthydemus, the king of the Bactrians ".¹ The direction of their conquests in India is indicated by the places mentioned, which are given as Saraostus and Sigerdis in India and the Seres and the Phryni towards Ferghana. It is true that it is very difficult to demarcate the respective areas of the conquests of these two kings. But there is no ground to connect Menander with the Seres and the Phryni. We have seen that Demetrius was rather connected with Bactria than with India, and consequently with such conquests as might have taken place further north. But on the other hand the statement of Apollodorus is explicit about the direction of Menander's advance² and since he definitely conquered most of the areas mentioned³, it is probable that it was he who is supposed to have taken possession of the kingdom of Saraostus and Sigerdis ; whether he actually did so is doubtful.⁴ If we suppose that Strabo gives a respective order of sequence in statement, we then also come to the same conclusion. But the matter does not end here. The Demetrius who is said to have been a contemporary of Eucratides by Justin is not mentioned by him as the son of Euthydemus ,⁵ and, as we shall see Euthydemus. in the next chapter, he appears to be later than Demetrius, the son of/

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1. " -- τὰ δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ Εὐθυδήμου υἱός, τοῦ Βακτρίων βασιλέως."
 2. " εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὸν Ἰππὸν διέβη πρὸς ἑώ, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰμάου προῆλθε --"
 3. The words " καὶ μάλιστα Μένανδρος. -- " must not be ignored.
 4. No Indo-Greek coins have ever been noticed in Gujarat. The location of Sigerdis also is not certain. Cf. infra., pp. 149-50
 5. Justin. XLI. 6. calls him only ' regis Indorum !

It is clear that we must distinguish between two Demetrius', one 'King of India' - in whatever limited sense 'India' is used, and the other, the son of Euthydemus, connected with Bactria and probably responsible for conquests as far as the Seres and the Phryni. Apollodorus was naturally more familiar with histories which were not primarily concerned with India, and it is thus possible that the young Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, who figures in Polybius in connection with Antiochus III's treaty with Euthydemus¹, was better known to him than the other Demetrius^{who}_^ also ruled south of the Hindu Kush and struck bilingual coins.² This confusion seems apparent in the statement of Apollodorus, who first associates Demetrius with Menander as one who also conquered some parts in India, and later, as if to correct himself, mentions the expansion towards the Seres and the Phryni.³ Thus, there is nothing in the Western classical sources, to prove any conquest in India, in whatever sense we take the term, by Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus; this accords well with other evidence some of which we have already shown and more of which we shall discuss later.⁴

We must note here an unimportant piece of literary evidence from the West. This is Chaucer, ~~quasi~~ of the 15th. century of the Christian era, who in his 'Knight's Tale', describes, "the grete Emetrius, the King of Ynde." The source of Chaucer's Emetrius is

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1. Polybius, XI. 39.
 2. Cf. infra, p. 82
 3. Strabo, XI. 11. 1
 4. Cf. infra, ~~ch.~~ III.
 5. Knight's Tale, 2155

unknown,¹ his own phrase in the preceding line is "in stories as men fynde." But the lineage of the Knight's Tale goes back through Boccaccio's Teseide to Statius, and Boccaccio does not mention Emetrius.² If Emetrius is Demetrius, as is generally thought, one may refer him to Boccaccio's Latin work "De Casibus Virorum Illustrium", where a brief mention of Demetrius and Eucratides does occur,³ which is rather reminiscent of Justin's passage discussed above.⁴ Even so it is not clear which of the two Demetrius' is referred to by Chaucer because neither he nor Boccaccio tell us that he was the son of Euthydemus. On the other hand it is evident that Boccaccio refers to the other Demetrius who was contemporary with Eucratides as Justin thought. Chaucer probably called his Emetrius, 'the grete' because he combined the two Demetrius;. Further, it is quite likely, though uncertain, that "Chaucer's Emetrius may be a corrupt reading of the 'Emenidus' king of Soreloys, said to be in India, who occurs in the French romance "Artus de Petit Bretagne", and possibly elsewhere."⁵ Apart from all these points which show that Chaucer's Emetrius has probably nothing to do with Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, we may reasonably wonder why so much value should be attached to an unreliable literary source of as late a period as that of Chaucer. It is strange

1. Tarn., p. 154 and fn. 5

2. A.W. Pollard's edition of 'The Knight's Tale', (1903) teste Tarn p. 154 fn. 5

3. A.D.H. Bivar, JRAS 1950, pp. 7-13. He quotes the passage, "Eucratides Bactrianorum Rex se a Demetrio Indorum rege obsessum et a filio denum occisum, ferisque lacerandum relictum querebatur." (VI.6)

4. Justin, XII.6; cf. supra., p. 56

5. A.D.H. Bivar, in an unpublished addenda notes to his paper, op. cit. sent by him.

that the scholars , who have found in Chaucer an example of " legend remembering where history has forgotten," are not prepared to give the same latitude to Plutarch¹ when he refers to Menander as king of Bactria, though Plutarch lived centuries before Chaucer² and wrote more sober literature than he.

Besides Demetrius (I) and Menander , like many others before him, Tarn has taken Apollodotus from the oft quoted passage of Trogus, " Indicae quoque res additae, gestae per Apollodotum et Menandrum, reges eorum,"³ and following Rapson⁴ has considered these three men as contemporaries, who between them achieved the temporary conquest of Northern India ;⁵ the statements of the Greek and Latin writers according to him are inclusive and not exclusive.⁶ But we hope to show that neither Menander nor Apollodotus were contemporaries of Demetrius I,⁷ that the reading " Apollodotum " in Trogus is an unwarranted emendation made by later editors,⁸ and that probably there is no need to postulate the existence of a prominent king called Apollodotus I ;⁹ in fact there is only one Apollodotus.

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1. Moralia., 821, D,E.
 2. Chaucer flourished in 15th century, and Plutarch in 1st-2nd cent. A.D.
 3. Trogus.XLI.
 4. CHI.,p. 543
 5. Tarn.,pp.142 ff.
 6. Ibid. loc.cit.
 7. Infra., pp. 103-10, 119-21, 201-2.
 8. Infra.,pp. 106-8
 9. Infra.,pp. 110 , 198

It is generally believed that the Indian sources also contain references to the Yavana king Demetrius (I) and a town which Tarn called Demetrias-in-Sind.¹ Fortunately for us the evidence has now been fully discussed², and we need not cover the whole ground again. There seems to be no proof for the equation off Dattāmitra or Dattamitra mentioned in the Mahābhārata with Demetrius³, and Tarn has withdrawn his original conclusions.⁴ Still we are asked not to ignore the evidence of the Mahābhārata which refers to a Yavanādhipa and Dattāmitra or Dattamitra in connection with Sauvīra.⁵ But the passage concerned⁶ has been excluded from the text given by the critical Poona edition, where the entire episode is printed in an appendix.⁷ Apart from the spuriousness of those passages, the internal evidence is not coherent and it hardly leads to any conclusion. It is quite

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1. R.G.Bhandarkar, Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, ii., pp. 11, 176 ; D.R.Bhandarkar, IA, 1911, p. 12.
Tarn, pp. 142, 257, 458 ; AIU, p. 107 ; PHAI⁶, p. 382
 2. Johnston, JRAS, 1939, pp. 217-40, 1940, p. 189 ; contra. Tarn, JRAS, 1940, p. 179, but cf. Tarn, Addenda, pp. 526, 536
 3. Johnston, op.cit., pp. 222-23
 4. Tarn, Addenda, loc.cit.
 5. PHAI, 6th. edn., p. 382
 6. " Na śāsāka vaśe karttuṃ yaṃ Pāṇḍurapi vīryavān
Sorjunena vaśaṃ nīto rājāsīdyavanādhipaḥ
Atīvabalasampannaḥ sadā mānī kurūnprati
Vittalo nāma Sauvīraḥ śāstāḥ Pārthena dhīmātā
Dattamitramiti khyātaṃ saṃgrāmakṛtaniścayaṃ
Sumitraṃ nāma Sauvīramarjunodamayaaccharaiḥ."

It is worth noting that there are variant readings for Dattāmitra, e.g. Dattamitra, Datavakra, Dantavakra etc.

7. Mahābhārata, Vol. I., Appendix I., text 80, pp. 927-29

clear that Dattāmitra was not the name of the Yavanādhipa mentioned in the passage; it seems to be only an epithet of Sumitra, a king of Sauvīra; and the name of the Yavanādhipa was actually Vittala¹. In fact, being a very late interpolation, the passage cannot be used as an evidence of positive value for the identification of Dattāmitra with Demetrius. If this identification is uncertain the connection of Dattāmitri, the Demetrias-in-Sind, with Demetrius also loses ground. Johnston has shown that this is one of the unfortunate examples of misreporting,² and that "this unusual type of place-name occurs only in the case of towns called after eponymous rsis;" the true explanation of the name may be that Dattāmitra or Dattamitra was a rsi.³ The mention of this town in one of the Naṣik inscriptions⁴ is also of little help, for this only testifies to the existence of a town named Dātāmiti in the north (otarāha)⁵. The many known ~~place~~ lists of Indian place names are all unanimous in treating the coast of Sind as being in the western region rather than the northern.⁶

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1. Other variant readings for this name are Kuntala, Vipula, and Vitula.
 2. The mistake has been traced up to D.R.Ehandarkar, op.cit. where he thought that the town Dattāmitri was mentioned in Patanjali; many scholars including Tarn copied this mistake. But in fact, Johnston has pointed out that Patanjali did not comment on Pāṇini, IV.2.76, which is the sūtra in question.
 3. Johnston. op. cit. p. 223-24
 4. Luders list, No. 1140, Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII. p. 90. (Naṣik. No. 18)
 5. "otarāhāsa Dātāmitiyakasa Yonakasa Dhammadevaputasa
Idrāgnidatasa ---."
 6. Johnston, op.cit. p. 235

Jayaswal sought to discover the name of Demetrius in one of the lines of the Yugapurāṇa¹ where he read a word as dharmamīta.² Presumably it supported his reading of 'Dimita' in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela.³ This identification was used to advantage by Tarn,⁴ who thought that, "the name has been 'adjusted' to bring in the word Dharma and to make it signify 'Friend of Justice'"; for he imagined that Demetrius appeared to the Indians not as a foreign conqueror but as the king of Justice!⁵ It is curious that Tarn did not accept four other identifications of Greek kings by Jayaswal in the same work.⁶ However, there was another reason why Tarn accepted this identification. He noticed, in a Tibetan translation of a lost Sanskrit work,⁷ the name Dharmamitra, which he thought was the name of a city, Tarmitā, Termedh, Termez, his Demetrias-in-Sogdiana.⁸ But unfortunately this identification was due to a confusion on his part,

1. Cf. Appendix II, pp. 277-78

2. JBORS. XIV, pp. 417-18, 403 line. 40

3. Ibid. XIII, p. 228 ; XIV, pp. 127-28, 417-18

4. Tarn, p. 178

5. Tarn, pp. 178-79, 455.

6. Jayaswal identifies Amlāṭa, Gopālobhāma, Puṣyaka and Savila with Amyntas, Apollophanes, Peucolaus, and Zoilus respectively. (JBORS, op.cit. p. 412 ; contra. Tarn, p. 455)

7. Vinayasūtra Tikā in its Tibetan version, cf. Sylvain Levi, JA. 1933 p. 27 fn.1

8. Sylvain Levi, JA. 1933, p. 27 fn. 1 ; Tarn, pp. 118-19.

and the true facts have been given by Whitehead¹ and Bailey². P. Cordier has noted that Dharmamitra, a teacher of the Vaibhāṣika school of the Tukhāra country was the author of a commentary, the first colophon of which describes him as "originaire de Tarmita (?) au bord du fleuve Pakṣu."³ Sylvain Levi identified Pakṣu with Oxus and thought Tarmita (Termez) on the Oxus.⁴ Bailey traces the allusions to the colophon in the Tibetan Tanjur, which mentions Tarmita, and he has set out the full colophon with literal translation.⁵ This confirms that Dharmamitra was the author, a native of Tarmita. There is no suggestion that one word was derived from the other and there is no justification for Tarn's identification. Apart from this impossibility of identification of Demetrius with Dharmamitra, it is questionable whether Jayaswal's reading of dharmamīta in the Yugapurāṇa is correct. The line containing this supposed word has been edited by Jayaswal as : Dharmamītaḥ tamā-vrddhā janāḥ bhokṣ(ksy)anti nirbhayāḥ."⁶ This is indeed a difficult line which baffles interpretation, but Jayaswal thought that it referred to the Tamā-elders⁷ of Dharmamita (Demetrius).⁸

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1. NC. 1947., p. 35 ; NC. 1950., pp. 213-14
 2. BSOAS. XIII, pt. 2. pp. 400-3
 3. Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Tome LXXXVI. Pt. iii., p. 408
 4. Sylvain Levi, loc. cit. p. 27
 5. BSOAS, XIII, pt. 2., pp. 400-3
 6. JBORS, XIV., p. 403, line 40
 7. Jayaswal (Ibid. XIV, p. 123), says, " I can not say what tamā stands for: it may be a corrupt misspelling or a survival of some Greek fiscal expression (cf. tameion = treasury). Elders may denote senior officers." Curiously Tarn accepts Jayaswal and says, "certainly 'tax-collectors' gives the required sense." (Tarn, p. 455). But cf. Appendix, II, pp. 277-78
 8. JBORS. XIV., pp. 127-28, 411

Since Jayaswal edited this work two more Mss. have come to light¹, and now we have the variant readings, dharmamītatayā and dharmabhīta-
tamā . Even if Jayaswal's reading Dharmamīta tamā-vṛddhā
is correct it does not necessarily follow that dharmamīta is the name
of Demetrius ; the long medial vowel ī in mīta should be noted,
and it is not easily explainable why tamā, an ordinary superlative
suffix should be attached with vṛddhā . We discuss this line later
in an appendix and propose to read this line in the context of its
preceding lines which seem *quite* normal.² There is thus no name of
Demetrius in the Yugapurāṇa.

It is unfortunate that we have not discovered large number
of inscriptions of the Yavana kings like those of the Śaka-Pahlavas
and Kuṣāṇas. Other than the Bajaur inscription³ which refers to
Menander and the Besnagar inscription⁴ which mentions Antialcidas, ,
no other epigraph gives clearly the name of any Yavana king whom we
know from their coins.⁵ It was supposed that the Hāthigumphā inscription⁶
contains the name of Demetrius.⁷ Tarn has taken this for granted, and

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1. Paris Ms. (JBORS. XV. pp. 129-35) and Ms. 'C' (Bankad's edition, JUPRS. XI. pp. 32-48, later his monograph, Yugapurāṇam); cf. App. II.
 2. Cf. Appendix, II .pp. 277-78
 3. K.G. Majumdar, Ep. Ind. XXIV, pp. 1-8; Konow, NIA, II, pp. 639 ff, also Ep. Ind. XXVII, pp. 52 ff.; Sircar, Select Inscriptions, p. 102
 4. Marshall, JRAS, 1909, pp. 1053 ff; Chanda, MAI, No. 1
Sircar, op.cit. p. 90
 5. We are doubtful whether Theodamas of the Bajaur Seal inscription
(CII., p. 6) was 'king'. But cf. Tarn, p. 312.
 6. There are many editions of this inscription. Cf. Jayaswal and
Banerjee, Ep. Ind., XX, pp. 71-89; Sircar, op.cit. p. 206. See also
Bibliography.
 7. Jayaswal, JBORS. XIII, p. 221, 228; Jayaswal and Banerjee, op.cit., pp.
76, 84.; Konow, Acta Orientalia. I, p. 27. But *contra.*, Barua, Old
Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves, pp. 17-18,
IHQ. 1938 (XIV), p. 465 . Sircar, op.cit. p. 208; Raychaudhuri, PHAI.⁶ p. 420.

thinks that there is a Dimita in the inscription, who must be identified with Demetrius, and this was apparently confirmed by the once general view that the Hāthigumphā inscription was to be dated in the second century B.C.¹

But both the reading Dimita and the date of the Hāthigumphā inscription are highly controversial. It is now generally accepted that the inscription is not earlier than the middle of the 1st. Century B.C.² And after careful examination of the fascimile³ we come to conclusion that there is no justification whatsoever for the reading Dimita. We disagree entirely with the latest reading of Altheim, who finds therein the name of Apollodotus.⁴ Jayaswal who first suggested the reading Dimita,⁵ and Banerjee⁶ and Konow⁷ who supported him, were sure of the letter ma only and they read Dimita by supplying the first and the last letters, since it was supposed that this word was preceded by Yavanarāja, and because it was then considered that Khāravela was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra. But the identity of the latter with Bahasatimita is no longer seriously considered.⁸ And apart from the very doubtfully restored word Dimita,⁹

1. Tarn., p. 457 f.

2. Sircar, op.cit., p. 206. "The angular forms and straight bases of letters like va, bha, pa, ha, and ya which are usually found in the Hāthigumpha record suggest a date not much earlier than the beginning of the 1st. century A.D. (cp. da)" It is certainly later than the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodorus. Cf. also, Sircar, AIU., p. 215. De la Vallée-Poussin, p. 193, Khāravela must be, "après, beaucoup après 150."

3. Plates in JBORS, III p. 473 ff, XIII, p. 221 ff; IEQ. XIV, p. 261 ff. Sircar, op.cit. p. 208

4. Altheim, p. Vol. I, p. 330

5. JBORS, VI., p. 5; XIII, p. 228

6. JBORS, XIII, p. 228 f.; Ep. Ind. XX., pp. 76, 84.

7. Acta Orientalia, I. p. 27

8. MAI, 6th. edn., p. 373 f.

9. Sircar, the latest editor of the text of the inscription (op.cit.) put the word with query in a bracket, viz. (Dimita ?)

the preceding word Yavanarāja is not ~~as~~ clear as it is supposed to be. The last letter ja which is restored by the editors¹ is not very dissimilar to ma in the following word, and if the former is ja the latter should also be ja and vice versa. Besides, the second letter va can also be read as ma or mā.² In fact the letters which were later restored as Yavanarāja Dīmīta were read very differently by the earlier editors³; Jayaswal himself read them in 1917, as, Ye va na ri do (nā ma).⁴ Even if we accept the reading Yavanarāja Dīmīta we can neither place Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, in the latter half of the 1st. century B.C., nor can we find any other Yavana king in that period who might have retreated to Mathurā from some region ^{to the} east of it,⁵ unless, of course, we take the possible Yavanarāja in the inscription as denoting a Śaka king of Mathurā, who invaded Eastern India and was compelled to retreat, a theory for which we have no supporting evidence. The reading is not certainly Yavanarāja, and, if it is so, this seems a very early use of the term Yavana to denote a Śaka. The Rāthigumphā inscription ~~seems to have any~~ **nothing** to do with the history of the Yavanas; certainly it has nothing to do with Demetrius I.

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1. Jayaswal and Banerjee, Ep. Ind. XX. pp. 73, 84; Sircar, op. cit., p. 208
 2. Cp. the facsimile, especially Pl. III in Barua, IHQ, XIV, pp. 459 ff.
 3. Bhagawanlal Indrajee, Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes Pt. III, pp. 135 ff. (p. 160, madhuraṁ apayato navame ca vase....); Also Jayaswal, JBORS. III., p. 456.
 4. JBORS. IV. pp. 378, 399; XIII, p. 227
 5. Some have suggested that if Dīmīta, the name of the Yavanarāja in the inscription, is correct, of which there is no likelihood, it may have a reference to Diomedes rather than to Demetrius (cf. Sircar, op. cit., p. 208, Raychaudhury, Phal, p. 420). But we have no evidence to think that Diomedes ever invaded the Gangetic valley.

Thus we have little evidence to support the theory of extensive conquests in India by Demetrius I, the son of Euthydemus. It is also probable that the credit of having conquered the Paropamisadae and Gandhāra has been unjustifiably transferred from Demetrius II to the homonymous son of Euthydemus.¹ It is unfortunate that Demetrius I has enjoyed his unjustified fame for so long that time and again scholars have falsely traced his name in various Indian words closely or even remotely resembling it in sound or meaning, without any regard to the nature and date of the source concerned. The "Timitra" of a Besnagar seal² may very well be an Indian name with -Mitra ending, which was very common;³ it is also interesting that the Śunga kings with names ending in -Mitra are known to have ruled in the Vidiśā (Besnagar) region. Sohoni suggested that king Damodara in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī might be Demetrius;⁴ but this lacks all proof. Similarly we fail to agree with the suggestion of Bagchi that the Yakṣa Krimiṣa, who in a Divyavadāna story kills Puṣyamitra, is identical with Demetrius.⁵ It has also been supposed that the name Devamantiya in the Milindapañho is a transcription of Demetrius,⁶ but even if this be correct, we do not understand how this would have a reference to Demetrius, the king; Demetrius was a common enough Greek name and Devamantiya is mentioned

1. Cf. supra., p. 61 ; infra. pp. 82-85

2. D.R. Bhandarkar, ASI. 1914-15, p. 77 ; EMI⁴, p. 253 ; PHAI⁶, p. 382

3. The coins of the kings who ruled Pañcāla, Mathura and Kausambi bear names ending in -Mitra. Such names are also found in literature and inscriptions.

4. JBORS. 1950. pp. 71 ff

5. IHQ. XXII., p. 81 f. ; cf. Raychaudhury, PHAI⁶, p. 382, who thinks Krimiṣa belongs to the domain of folklore.

6. Tarn., pp. 422, 458 fn. 2.

in the Milindapañho along with other Yonakas like Anantakāya, Mankura, and Sabbadinna who accompanied Menander.¹ There is no suggestion that these Yonakas were kings.

Thus the tradition of Demetrius' great conquests in India rests entirely on a concatenation of slender threads of evidence. It is true that the Yavanas developed considerable power under Euthydemus and his son Demetrius I. The spectacle of the declining Mauryan empire may have lured them to the valleys of the Kabul and Indus rivers. But we have also to notice the menacing dangers from other directions. The danger from the north, which Euthydemus I had emphasised to Antiochus, ultimately proved to be real;² and that from the west, from Parthia, soon resulted in the loss of two satrapies of Bactria.³ The revealing statement of Justin quoted earlier⁴ indicates among other things that there were restive elements not only in Sogdiana and Aria but also in Arachosia, Drangiana and India, and that the Yavanas were so continuously harassed by them that finally the Parthians, who were initially weaker than the Bactrian Greeks, got the upper hand. It is true that all these dangers did not come to a head at the same time, but obviously they were present throughout the existence of the Yavana kingdom and the most surprising feature of their history is not that the Yavanas lost their power so soon, but that amidst all these dangers they survived as long as

1. Milindapañho, p. 29

2. Infra., ch. VI.

3. Infra., p. 115

4. Supra., p. 38

they did. In such circumstances it would be political foresightedness for a king to concentrate rather on consolidating whatever areas had been won than to rush headlong to win fresh lands, which it would be beyond his resources to hold. Demetrius I was wise if he did not think of crossing the Hindu Kush and disturbing Sophagaseⁿus or his successors in the Paropamisadae, who were friends of the Seleucids, or of risking an encounter with the autonomous governments which had been newly organised in Takṣasīlā and possibly in other cities of Gandhāra, as is evident from the coins.

The weakness of the widely accepted theory of Demetrius' conquests is sought to be overcome by attributing to his reign the events of more than one generation and the achievements of more than one person. Demetrius I is said to have employed a host of sub-kings and generals, who included one fourth of the total number of the Yavana kings known from coins. He is supposed to have formulated a gigantic strategic plan, bigger and better than any of Alexander's, to have run from one end of his kingdom to the other, to keep his affairs in order and to control his sub-kings, and to have left conquests of far reaching consequences to generals of unknown origin, with unsagacious and almost unbelievable over-confidence. And to what end? Only to meet a shameful death at the hands of Eucratides. Surely, Euthydemus and Demetrius I, whose portraits are sufficient to show their determination and prowess, were not rash adventurers; they were wiser - though perhaps not greater, than historians have

thought them. Had they not concentrated their energies on the consolidation of their kingdom , Mithridates I might not have stopped at taking only two satrapies, and the course of history might well have been different. The wonderful achievements of the Yavanas amidst a bewildering chaos of various contending parties might not have been so exciting a story for the histormān to reconstruct had the foundations not been laid so strongly.

CHAPTER III.

THE EXTENSION OF THE YAVANA POWER TO THE PAROPAMISADAE AND GANDHĀRA.

Polybius¹ mentions the 'descendants' of Diodotus, and Strabo refers to the 'others' who followed the example of Euthydemus.² We are not told their names but one of them may have been Antimachus Theos. This mysterious king seems to have been a personage of some importance ; ancient historians have overlooked him. Cunningham considered him to be one of the three original founders of the Yavana kingdom,³ but discoveries since the time of Cunningham have made this theory unlikely.⁴ Nevertheless , the fact remains that several families played their part in the history of the Yavanas. This is evident from the great number of names and the wide variety^{of} patron deities shown on the coins; quite unlike the Seleucids, very few Yavana kings bear the same name, and the same reverse type was never long maintained. The Yavana kings did not constitute one dynasty; probably there was no ruling family as in Egypt or Syria. They may have followed a system of election as in the Roman Empire, or have been a military aristocracy. Whatever may have been the nature of Yavana kingship, it is undoubtedly true that there were several ruling families.

1. Polybius. XI. 39.

2. Strabo, XI.9.

3. Cunningham, CASE. p. 110, also his chart on p. 96.

4. Especially noteworthy is the medal struck by Antimachus Theos commemorating Euthydemus I.

Some scholars considered Antimachus to be a son or close relation of Diodotus II whom he succeeded in Kabul;¹ others have put him later than Demetrius I.² Tarn has taken him to be a son of Euthydemus I and a younger brother of Demetrius I.³ On grounds of the type and style of his coins, Antimachus Theos belongs to the early group of the Yavana kings of Bactria; but the commemorative medals do not prove that he was a son of Euthydemus; the medals might be taken to show his relationship to Diodotus, but there is no reason to connect Diodotus with Euthydemus.⁴ Mme Trever remarks that the very realistic portrait of Antimachus Theos shows a man with a Greek name but with a face of a very un-Greek type, and suggests that he was a Sogdian. On the basis of physiognomy she refuses to believe that he was a son of Euthydemus I.⁵

It is certain that Antimachus came to power soon or perhaps immediately after the death of Euthydemus I. It is evident from his coins that when he obtained power he was of middle age.⁶ His portrait is one of the most pronouncedly individual in the whole Bactrian series.⁷ The appearance of Poseidon on the main issue of Antimachus Theos is also remarkable.⁸ And Tarn has noted that the startling thing

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1. V.A.Smith, IMC., p. 5 ; H.C.Rawlinson, Bactria, p. 62.
 2. Gardner, BMC., p. xxvi ; Macdonald, CHI., p. 449
 3. Tarn., pp. 75-76
 4. Cf. supra, pp. 28, 30 , and infra, pp. 97 ff
 5. Trever, p. 7
 6. Cf. Plate Appendix., Pl. I 2-4
 7. Macdonald, op.cit., p. 449
 8. Cf. Appendix, III, The Coin Types , p. 284

on Antimachus' coins is that he calls himself Theos, 'the God' and ~~th~~ that no king of any of the western dynasties called himself Theos on his coins till Antiochus IV.¹ Obviously Antimachus Theos was a claimant to the throne, who commemorated Diodotus and Euthydemus to win the support of both factions; but probably his sympathies were chiefly with Diodotus, since he adopted the ~~Wing~~ 'Thunderbolt', an attribute of Zeus, for one of his important issues.² It is possible that in c. 190, when Demetrius I was busy with his conquests in the South,³ Antimachus Theos started his career by eliminating Euthydemus II who was ruling in the north.

Tarn thought of Antimachus Theos as a sub-king of Demetrius I in Margiana- the Greater Margiana as he calls it.⁴ Antimachus Theos has often been connected with the Kabul Valley also;⁵ and even with Takṣaśilā.⁶ Trever has suggested that he started his career in Sogdiana, and that, as the cap which he wears may be connected with a ~~xxx~~ much later type of Chinese headdress, he may have ruled in districts which were not far from the borders of China.⁷ Although it is difficult to agree with Trever's theory wholeheartedly, it is likely

1. Tarn., p. 91.

2. Cf. Numismatic III, The Coin-types., p. 284

3. Supra., pp. 38-39

4. Tarn., pp. 83-89

5. Cunningham, CAIE., p. 118

6. Allan, Marshall's Taxila, II., p. 856

7. Trever, p. 125. It is true that the type of kausia which Antimachus Theos wears is unknown in any Greek series of coinage as far as we know, but this cap was known to Classical literature. It is said that Alexander wore this cap on some informal occasions and that this was a Macedonian headdress.

that Antimachus, Theos set up his new kingdom somewhere in Eastern Bactria or Badakshan, north of the Hindu Kush ; the unpublished Kunduz hoard in the Kabul Museum contains more coins of Antimachus Theos than of Demetrius I and has two specimens of **his very rare commemorative medals.** ~~of his~~.¹ It was probably from that region that he made incursions into the Kabul and the Upper Indus valleys , and possibly gained control of parts of the Paropamisadae. He was the first Yavana king to strike square coins on the Indian model.² These coins can not be later than the bilingual coins of Demetrius II;³ the natural progress towards the Indianisation of the Yavana coinage would be, first in the shape, and then in the legend. Whitehead⁴ and Allan⁵ agree even to this extent that he may have temporarily occupied Takṣaśilā on the strength of this unique square coin of Taxila type. There is no proof, however, of a permanent occupation, (but undoubtedly he was the first Yavana king to cross the Hindu Kush to the South.) It is likely that after the death of Demetrius I he included Bactria also in his kingdom and may have extended his realm in the West to Margiana where his coins are also found.⁶)

There is some controversy over the significance of ^oPseidon on the coins of Antimachus Theos. It has been suggested that the

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1. There are 14 coins of Antimachus Theos as against only 8 of Demetrius I. Though in itself this is no proof it may suggest his prominence in that area as compared to that of Demetrius I.
 2. Whitehead, NC. 1940, p. 104., Pl. VIII.2. Allan in Marshall's Taxila, p. 856, notes that a coin of Taxila (BMC, Ancient India., Pl. XXXII, 21) was countermarked by Antimachus Theos with his title and thunder-bolt, but we are unable to verify ~~this~~.
 3. PMC. Pl. I. 26 ; ~~MS 1940, Pl. IX~~ NC. 1923., Pl. XIV.2.
 4. NC. 1940, p. 16
 5. Allan, op.cit., p. 856.
 6. Cunningham, CASE. p. 119

figure records a naval victory, probably on the Indus.¹ But this raises certain difficulties. With whose fleet did he fight on the Indus and was there a royal fleet of the Yavanas in India at that time? Tarn thought that Antimachus had no connexion with India, and since no Bactrian king reached or used the 'unnavigated' Caspian, he considered the Oxus to be the only place where Antimachus could have won a naval victory, probably against the Scythian Massagetae.² But Burn has rightly raised the question why Poseidon should be connected at all with naval battles on rivers; the cult of Poseidon in inland towns like Mantinea and Rhauca had nothing to do with naval victories.³ Other examples may be found of kings of mountains, steppes and deserts putting Poseidon the sea-god on their coins in the 3rd. and 2nd. centuries B.C.⁴ At this time he was remembered as a god not only of the sea, but of springs and rivers, the fructifier and nourisher of plants; he was near to Mother Earth, Demeter. He was not only the giver of water but the creator and protector of horses; sacrifices were made to him in hippodromes.⁵ It is possible that the kingdom of Antimachus included some of the areas where the 'heavenly horses' of the Chinese sources were bred or ^{that} his kingdom was contiguous to it.⁶ At

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1. Cunningham, CASE., p. 118; Gutschmid, p. 47 : Gardner, BAC., p. xxix
Rawlinson, Bactria., p. 107
 2. Tarn., pp. 90-91
 3. Richard Burn, JRAS., 1941, p. 65
 4. Trever, p. 128
 5. Ibid., loc.cit.
 6. Probably the same reason accounts for the horse on the coins of Euhydemus, supra, p. 46

that time the presence of a god on a coin was not necessarily connected with great events, but represented the patron deity of the king or his family. Local artistic conventions probably did not approve of the same degree of nudity as did the Greeks; the Poseïdon on Antimachus' coinage was therefore given a robe and a palm in his left hand.¹

There is no trace of overweening pride on Antimachus' face, yet he takes the title Theos. This is embarrassing if he is considered as a younger son and sub-king of Euthydemus,² for Euthydemus I did not take any epithet on his own coins. Citing the examples of Alexander and Antigonus Gonatas, who had been ironical about their divinities, Tarn says, "irony might be the explanation of Antimachus' adoption of the divine title: this is what the Great kings think, so let a small king say it."³ This is hardly convincing; and there is no reason to underestimate Antimachus Theos. No Greek king or Parthian before him seems to have taken this epithet officially. Antiochus IV, who also called himself Theos, was probably later than Antimachus and if there was borrowing it must have been on the part of the Seleucid, as Tarn admits.⁴ The Parthian king⁵, Phriapatius, who seems to have adopted this epithet, must also have borrowed from Antimachus Theos.⁶

1. Poseïdon also appears on the copper money of Nicias and Hippostratus who may be connected to Antimachus Theos through Antimachus II Nicephorus; cf. infra., p. 238

2. Tarn, p. 90

3. Tarn, p. 92

4. Tarn, loc.cit.

5. Wroth, EMC. Parthia, pp. XLIX-XX.

6. Tarn, loc.cit.

Among the Śaka^{and} Pahlava kings of India only Gondophernes¹ and a certain Arsaces² took it. But the Kuṣāṇa kings who called themselves Devaputra evidently had similar ideas of royal divinity³. It is probable that the Kuṣāṇas, who may well have started their career somewhere in Eastern Bactria or Badakshan, took it from the local traditions; and Antimachus Theos also may have done so at an earlier period.⁴

Thus Antimachus Theos was a successful man, who seems both to have conformed to local traditions and to have appeased the rival factions of Diodotus and Euthydemus. But he probably started his career late in his life, and the expansion of the Yavana kingdom towards Takṣaśilā achieved success only in the generation that followed

1. BMC., Pl. XXII.7, p. 103

2. BMC., p. 160, BMC., Pl. XXII.12

3. Cf. Kuṣāṇa Inscriptions in CII, Vol. II, pt. I

4. Sylvain Levi, (JA. 1934, pp. 1-21), has questioned the general view that the Kuṣāṇas got the notions of royal divinity from the Chinese. He thought that the title Devaputra (the son of God) was not directly related to the Chinese 天之子 "T'ien tseu" (the son of Heaven), but that the Kuṣāṇas took the concept from an intermediary form, the Pahlavi "baypuhr" borrowed by the Sogdians as "baypūr" = prince (cf. Sogdian baypus = devaputra). The fact that this word is found only in a late Sogdian text does not mean that the idea of royal divinity did not exist in earlier Sogdiana and the adjoining regions to it.

him. From his coins it seems that he cannot have ruled for more than ten years and therefore he died in c. 180 ; had he lived longer and occupied Takṣaśilā or even the whole of the Kabul valley , he would have commenced the practice of issuing bilingual coins.

It was Demetrius II who first struck bilingual coins. Until the remarkable discovery of R.B.Whitehead¹ this assertion was questionable, since the square copper coin with the elephant-scalp bust of the king was attributed to Demetrius I. It is now certain that the Demetrius, who struck the silver bilingual coin, bearing the standing Zeus with the thunderbolt², is the same as the Demetrius who struck the square copper pieces with thunderbolt on one side³, since^{the} two coins bear the same epithet and monogram. The types are linked and the legends on their obverse and reverse are identical. The elephant-scalp headdress is no more the monopoly of Demetrius I than is the flat Kausia of Antimachus Theos. (The conclusion is irresistible that both these series , the silver and copper , were the issues of Demetrius II; Tarn admitted this, although he supposed that the title of Aniketos was adopted by Demetrius I, who, he maintained , was imitating Alexander in assuming it.⁴ Neither Euthydemus I nor Demetrius I adopted titles on their own coins, though Diodotus I had done so. It was Agathocles who transferred the title Aniketos to Demetrius I in his commemorative medals,⁵ just as


1. NC. 1923, pp. 300-1., Pl. XIV, 2.

2. Cf. Plate Appendix., Pl. I.6

and Appendix III, p. 285

3. PMC., pl. I.26

4. Tarn., p. 138

5. NC., 1934, Pl. III.1. The coin is still unique and it has a rather unusual monogram .

he, and earlier Antimachus Theos, had transferred the title Theos to Euthydemus I.¹ (Demetrius II who issued bilingual coins, the proof of an accomplishment which his predecessors had only thought of, may deservedly have taken the title of Aniketos; for it is he who is called the king of 'India' in the western classical sources, and he was a contemporary of Eucratides.² For obvious reasons the silver bilingual piece is later than the coins of Demetrius I and Antimachus Theos; it initiates two new conventions, the practice of having the legend both on the obverse and reverse, and the change in the weight standard; moreover, it gives for the first time an equivalent for the Greek title in an Indian language.)

It is now generally agreed that the Demetrius coins of the Pallas type are the issues of Demetrius II.³ Probably they were struck before he occupied the Kabul valley and were meant to circulate in the regions north of the Hindu Kush. This type of coin which was once rare, is now known in considerable numbers and the portrait on the coin illustrated in CHI by Macdonald is no longer the typical one.⁴ The only definitely known findspot of these coins is Kunduz, but a few of uncertain provenance exist.⁵

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1. For Agathocles' coin commemorating Euthydemus cf. BMC., Pl. IV.3, and for Antimachus Theos commemorating Euthydemus cf. Plate Appendix BM. ; see also, infra., pp. 97-98
 2. Supra., p. 56, Infra., p. 93
 3. Macdonald, CHI., p. 448; Tarn, p. 77. Those who believed earlier that these were the issues of Demetrius I thought that they were struck by Demetrius I before his conquests in India, when he was a young man and probably ruled in Arachosia. (cf. Cunningham, CSAE., p. 159)
 4. Cp. CHI., pl. III.5 and one coins of the Kunduz find illustrated by us in the Plate Appendix. Pl. I. 5.
 5. There are as many as 50 coins in the Kunduz hoard.

By the ordinary rules of nomenclature it can be said that this Demetrius II was a son or a grandson of Demetrius I. On the other hand numismatic evidence links him with Antimachus Theos. The face on ~~the~~ the silver bilingual coins is more like that of Antimachus on some of his coins than that of Demetrius I,¹ there is at least a tempting resemblance between them.² There are other features also which indicate some connection between the two. (The thunderbolt occurs on the square coins of both Antimachus Theos and Demetrius Aniketos;³ the Poseidon of Antimachus is represented by his trident on some copper coins of Demetrius,⁴ which must pertain to Demetrius II, since four specimens have been found in Takṣaśilā and near Attock.⁵ Antimachus Theos must have had his sympathies with the family of Diodotus,⁶ since he adopted the attribute of Zeus, their patron deity for one of his types of coins; (Demetrius II also adopted Pallas from the Diodoti, for the standing Pallas on his coins is very similar to the description given by Whitehead of a copper type of Diodotus.⁷ The occurrence of the Caduceus reminds us of those copper coins of Diodotus which have two crossed Caducei on one side.⁸ The elephant's head on one side of that coin-

1. Cp. Plate Appendix., Pl. I 4&6

2. Mr. G.K.Jenkins is also of the same opinion.

3. NC. 1940., pl. VIII. 2 ; PMC., pl. I. 26.

4. IMC, Pl. I.12.

5. One coin found in Takṣaśilā excavations (Taxila, II., p.798), two specimens found by Whitehead near Attock (NC.1923, p.342) and one more from Takṣaśilā in possession of H.deS.Shortt.

6. He may have some connection with the family of Diodotus.

7. PMC, p. 10, Pl. I.4 (the reverse is not illustrated), also Whiteking Sale Catalogue, No. 7

8. Newell, ESM. Pl. LIII. 9.

type of Demetrius may be connected with the elephant of Antimachus' copper. (That the "Elephant's head and Caduceus" type ¹ was surely struck by Demetrius II is attested by the fact that later it was imitated by Maues², and Maues could have imitated only those coins which were circulating in Gandhāra.³ Moreover, the most common, if not the only, monograms (⌘, Δ) found on the Attic monolingual tetradrachms of Demetrius II had already appeared on the coins of Antimachus Theos; the monogram ⌘ of his bilingual tetradrachm is the same as that on ~~his~~ copper square ~~coin of Antimachus~~. (The evidence seems to indicate that Demetrius II Aniketos succeeded Antimachus Theos, and if anything is to be inferred from facial resemblance the latter may have been father of the former.^{3a})

(Demetrius II must also have made some headway in Gandhāra and he may well have occupied its western districts; the discovery of one of his coins in the Takṣaśilā excavations⁴ does not prove that he included Takṣaśilā in his kingdom. The first Yavana king who had some hold over Takṣaśilā was definitely Agathocles.⁵

If Demetrius II succeeded Antimachus in c. 180 he may have reigned until c. 165, by which time, as we shall ^{see} below, Eucratides must have superseded him.

1. CHI., Pl. VI. 1.

2. CHI., Pl. VI.2; BMC. Pl. XVI. 1

3. Cf. infra., pp. 242, 245 where we show that Maues did not rule west of Gandhāra. (3a) Cp. Plate Appendix. Pl. I, 2-4 and 5-6 especially 6.

4. Taxila., II, p. 798

5. Allan, Marshall's Taxila, II., p. 856-57

Justin has given important information on the career and achievement of Eucratides. According to him Eucratides started his reign simultaneously with Mithridates I of Parthia and both were outstanding kings. The former carried on several wars with great vigour in Sogdiana, Aria, Arachosia, Drangiana and India. He withstood a siege by Demetrius II, but, being harassed in all these wars,* he probably lost two satrapies to the Parthians.¹ When Eucratides was returning from his campaigns in India he was murdered in cold blood by his son, whom he had made a joint-king.² Strabo states that Eucratides ruled over "a thousand cities".³ We do not know whether Justin meant to give any sequence to the events of his career except the beginning and end of his reign. His account is a mere skeleton of history but life can be brought to it by means of complementary evidence.

The usual view is that Mithridates I ascended the throne in c. 171;⁴ so Eucratides must have started his reign at about the same time. It has more than once been suggested that Eucratides had some connection with the Seleucids;⁵ also that Antiochus IV may have been behind him.⁶ It was considered that the "bead and reel" border on the coins of Eucratides was Seleucid, and that Laodice, "a common name in the royal house of Syria", who is represented on the coins of

1. Justin., XLI. 6.

1. Strabo., XI. 11.2

2. Justin, loc.cit.

3. Strabo quotes Apollodorus for this statement but he himself doubts it (XV.1.3)

4. Debevoise, op. cit., p. 19

5. Macdonald, CHI., p. 454 ; Tarn, p. 184

6. Macdonald, loc.cit. , but admits that it is 'pure speculation'. Tarn, p. 184, accepts this suggestion and elaborates it.

Eucratides¹ as wearing a diadem² with a certain Heliocles who is bare-headed, was a Seleucid queen.³ But the 'bead and reel' border is found to occur on the coins of Demetrius I⁴, Antimachus Theos⁵ and Demetrius II,⁶ who ~~were~~ were certainly not Seleucids. Names, such as that of Laodice were so commonly used in Greek royal families that we cannot base any theories on their occurrences; besides the two 'Demetrius' we have dealt with, there were princes of the same name in the family of Seleucus and in that of his rival, Antigonus of Macedonia. Tarn thought that the bull's horn and ear on the helmet used by Eucratides might be another argument in favour of his Seleucid connections.⁷ But it is not always safe to connect this type of helmet or a ~~x~~ bull's horn forming part of the headdress, with the Seleucid;⁸ The Seleucid kings themselves do not generally use this helmet on their own coins.⁹ We agree therefore with Cunningham who noticed this long ago and said that it had "no special significance", and it is possible that the bull's ear and horn may be symbolic of the great strength of the wearer.¹⁰

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1. PMC., Pl. IX. iv. We have discovered another variety of the Heliocles-Laodice type, which has been missed by scholars. cf. Appendix. III, p. 290, and Plate Appendix. Pl. I. 7
 2. It has sometimes been doubted if she wears diadem at all.
 3. Macdonald, op.cit., p. 454; Tarn., p. 197
 4. BM. cast. cf. Nauville Sale Catalogue. VII. No. 1790
 5. Ex Kunduz hoard, cf. Plate Appendix. Pl. I. 2 unpublished.
 6. NC. 1951. Pl. ~~IX~~ IV. 12. Plate Appendix. Pl. I. 5
 7. Tarn., p. 196
 8. e.g. Demetrius Poliorcetes (306-283) uses bull's horn. cf. Gardner, A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks, London 1932 Pl. 29. 9-10
 9. Except on a copper of Alexander Balas (152-144), we have not been able to find a Seleucid king using a crested helmet ^{of Eucratides' type} on their coins; but the helmet worn by Alexander Balas also does not bear bull's horn. cf. BMC. Seleucid. Pl. XVI. 11. Also one copper of Demetrius II cf. NC 1951. Pl. I. 9
 10. CASE. p. 181. He also suspected that the ear was that of horse, which combined with the bull's horn, may have some reference to Alexander's horse Bucephalus.

Tarn believed that Laodice was a daughter of Seleucus II and ~~and~~ Heliodorus a governor of ^{the} "upper (eastern) satrapies" under Antiochus III.¹ Eucratides was, therefore, a cousin of Antiochus IV, the latter's governor of the "upper satrapies".² Antiochus IV, who miserably failed in the west, was given a title "Saviour of Asia" by Philippus, his minister "for affairs", hence he must have saved Asia, by which Tarn meant the Seleucid Empire, from some opponent, who, Tarn says, was no other than Demetrius I.³ Antiochus Epiphanes- the God manifest- meant to restore Alexander's empire in the East so that "there might be a second Great power in the world as a counterpoise to Rome." Tarn thought that Antiochus IV arranged the festival at Daphne⁴ and a 'thanksgiving ceremony' (Charisteria) at Babylon to celebrate a military triumph.⁵ But it is strange that the king who was so pompuous in his triumph did not himself campaign in the East, where his victories were achieved for him by his viceroy Eucratides, because "that was that official's business, if the king was not going to command in person."⁶ This seems to be just a surmise.

It is now generally agreed that the Commemorative pieces of

1. Tarn., p. 197

2. Tarn., loc.cit.

3. Tarn, p. 195

4. In 167 B.C., Lucius Aemilius Paullus, the conqueror of Macedonia celebrated triumphal games at Amphipolis, to which the whole Greek world was ~~invited~~. Antiochus who would not be bettered by a Roman and thought of himself as a conqueror of Egypt arranged a lavish display of games, gladiatorial shows, wild beasts fight etc. in Daphne, the paradise of Antioch, (Cf. Bevan, House of Seleucus, vol. II., pp. 145-46)

5. Tarn., p. 195

6. Tarn., p. 197

Eucratides represent his parents ¹ rather than the marriage of his son with a royal princess.² We may agree with Macdonald that we need not take Laodice as the daughter of Demetrius which was the view of some early scholars;³ there is no evidence to prove that this was the name of the bride of Demetrius, or of any of her children⁴. But similarly we have seen that there is no evidence to connect Laodice with the Seleucid family only; she may well belong to ^{some} other family. Significant is the absence of the diadem on the head of Heliocles. Heliocles is considered by Tarn to have been the governor of such an important area that his responsibility was almost that of a joint-king; Heliocles is supposed to have succeeded the eldest son of Antiochus III who was a joint-king with Antiochus III up to 193.⁵ On this assumption ~~it~~ is strange that he did not strike coins in his own right or even jointly with his queen Laodice, and stranger that Eucratides was content to commemorate his father without any pretensions to royalty. Not long after this time Timarchus, a governor of Media, issued his own money.⁶ Even if Heliocles was too meek, quiescent and obedient to do what Timarchus did later, it is surprising that in reply to such issues of the Euthydemids as those commemorating Alexander and Antiochus II (or III), Eucratides chose to relate himself to a man of unknown importance and and an insignificant princess whose connections we can not discover.

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1. Cunningham, CASE., p. 163; Gardner, BMC., p. xxiv; Macdonald, CHI, p. 45
 2. Von Sallet, pp. 23 ff., 103
 3. Ibid., loc.cit.; Rawlinson, Bactria., pp. 153-57
 4. Macdonald, CHI, p. 454
 5. Tarn., p. 197
 6. BMC, Seleucid., p. 50., Von Sallet., p. 103

Such an important personage as Eucratides , supposed to be so vitally connected with the Seleucids, would surely have indicated his relationship more clearly. Moreover, that the 'Greco-Macedonian' settlers of the Seleucid empire had an abiding loyalty to the person of the Seleucid king¹ may be true of the Middle East, but it was not true of the East. What happened in Bactria and other areas in the East when Seleucus I and Antiochus III had occasion to test the settler's loyalty need not be restated here.² In the circumstances of the time there was no necessity for any Yavana king to support his claim by tracing relationship to the Seleucid. Moreover, it is not clear to us as to whose sentiments the Yavana king would appeal^{to} by doing so. It is striking that such prominent kings as Euthydemus I, Demetrius I and II, and Menander did not issue commemorative pieces showing their family connections. It is difficult , therefore, to believe that the commemorative medals of the Yavana kings were either pedigree coins or political manifestos.

We cannot attribute to Antiochus IV plans and achievements which he had neither the statesmanship to envisage nor the resources to carry out. The growing power of Rome and of Parthia placed the Seleucid kingdom between two fires. Antiochus III had been signally defeated at Magnesia and by the treaty of Apamea in 188 Rome had

1. Tarn., p. 202

2. Supra., pp. 12 ff. , 31-32

forbidden the Seleucids to recruit mercenaries in Asia Minor.¹ Within twenty-five years occurred that ignominious 'day of Eleusis' when, as Antiochus IV at the head of a victorious army was about to decide the fate of Alexandria, a Roman envoy with a walking stick ordered him out of Egypt, and the abject king sent congratulations on the Roman victory over Perseus,² the event which was immediately responsible for Rome's rude behaviour to Antiochus IV.³ This apparently cowardly swallowing of an insult was thought by Tarn to show "the self control and long views" of the king.⁴ But Bevan has remarked that "orders delivered him by Roman envoys were equivalent to divine commands."⁵ To attack Rome was out of the question. An advance in the East, beyond Parthia, was also out of question after the return of Antiochus III, who saw the utter futility of any such campaign. After this the Eastern policy of the Seleucids was almost wholly concerned with Parthia; the Seleucid Demetrius II attacked Parthia but was made a prisoner. The presence of Parthia between the Seleucid kingdom and that of the Yavanas should never be ignored; one might help the other against Parthia, but a Seleucid king would not attack the Yavanas in the East without involving the Parthians.

1. Tarn., p. 186

2. Bevan, op.cit., p. 145

3. Ibid, 66.cit., p. 144

4. Tarn., p. 192

5. Bevan, op.cit., p. 145

Against this background we cannot believe that Eucratides was the cousin of Antiochus IV, a brilliant general whose services were not needed in the West, but who was sent by the extravagant king to restore the Empire,¹ when Seleucus I and Antiochus III had already failed in the attempt. We need not seek hypothetical victories to explain the ostentation of the festival of Daphne, which, as Bevan believed,² was chiefly due to Antiochus' vainglorious love of pomp and ceremony. Also, it is difficult to understand why Eucratides, if he was acting on behalf of the Seleucid, had a force of only 300 soldiers!³ If he had been a Seleucid general it might be expected that he would refer to Antiochus III or Antiochus IV whose commission he held, ~~in~~ in his commemorative coins.

Justin states explicitly that Eucratides rose to power in Bactria itself and that, with only a few men under his command, by continued adventurous sallies he expelled the reigning Yavana king. He was in fact an upstart, probably born of a princess of a royal blood whose claim to the throne had been bypassed. We do not know whether she was a daughter of Diodotus II or of Euthydemus I but she gave a locus standi to Eucratides in Bactria.

1. Tarn., p. 198

2. Bevan, op.cit., p. 145 f.

3. Justin, XLI.6

Tarn (p. 200) thought that it ~~is~~ was the normal figure for the agema (bodyguard) of one in Eucratides' position.

Eucratides ^{probably} achieved his success ~~probably~~ when Demetrius II Aniketos was busy occupying new lands in the Paropamisadae and Gandhāra. He had only a small army, but with his picked men he managed to get control of the northern parts of the Yavana kingdom so that Demetrius II had to leave his newly won areas in the south under a general or sub-king and hasten northwards. It was probably at this time that Eucratides was taken unawares in one of his campaigns and was besieged by the large army of Demetrius II Aniketos.¹ But as Justin informs us, by making continual sallies he was successful, and Demetrius II may well have been killed. The success of Eucratides, though due to his own leadership, seems to have depended to some extent also upon disaffected elements.

Eucratides did not rest after the death of Demetrius II. Evidently he aspired to become a 'Great king', and to outshine the achievements of all his predecessors including Demetrius II. He therefore proceeded to conquer "India"², the Paropamisadae and areas in Gandhāra, Aria Arachosia and Drangiana. This must have taken place after a period of consolidation in the key provinces to prevent a repetition of the errors of Demetrius II. Meanwhile we must turn to the regions in the south and south-east which were to engage his later career.

1. Justin, XLI. 6. " Multa tamen Eucratides bella magna virtute gessit quibus additritus, cum CCC militibus LX milia hostium adsiduīs eruptionibus vicit....."

2. Allan, Marshall's Taxila. II p. 360

Aria with Margiana had come into the possession of Antimachus Theos¹ and was probably held by Demetrius Aniketos. It must have been part of the kingdom of Eucratides before he marched on Arachosia and Drangiana through the Kabul-Ghazni road,² that is, after he had occupied the Paropamisadae.

The fate of Arachosia and Drangiana after the death of Demetrius I is uncertain. Demetrius I must have left a general or sub-king to govern the newly won possessions before he returned to Bactria, where he was soon to be superseded by Antimachus Theos.³ Tarn thought that Apollodotus I was the first sub-king appointed by Demetrius I over Arachosia and Drangiana and that he was succeeded there by Pantaleon and Agathocles.⁴ But Apollodotus I, if he existed,⁵ can not be dated earlier than the two latter kings.⁶ We believe that they were the joint-kings of Arachosia and Drangiana⁷ when Demetrius I died in Bactria. Probably Antimachus and Demetrius II could not make much headway into those areas; the presence of ~~just~~ a few coins of Antimachus in Arachosia and Seistan⁸ does not prove their control of these provinces, but it

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1. Tarn, p. 95
 2. According to Tarn, Eucratides followed a different route, cf. p. 199
 3. Supra., p. 77
 4. Tarn., pp. 95, 134, 156-57
 5. We are doubtful about the existence of an Apollodotus I, cf. infra., pp. 103 ff, 195 ff
 6. Marshall, op.cit., vol. I., pp. 29-30; Allan, Marshall's Taxila, p. 857
 7. Marshall, loc.cit., reconstructs in a different way.
 8. Cunningham, CASE., pp. 119-20; Schlumberger., p. 75

may have influenced the determination of the coin-types of Pantaleon and Agathocles which represent 'enthroned Zeus holding Hecate',¹ and 'draped Zeus standing',² in each case. Pantaleon and Agathocles who are believed to have been the sons of Demetrius I may have abandoned the consistent type of their family, Heracles, because they wished to show some connection with the family of Diodotus, just as Antimachus and Theos and Demetrius II were probably doing.

Probably Pantaleon and Agathocles were brothers and they may have been sons of Demetrius I.³ Their coins have types and monograms in common, and are strikingly similar in style.⁴ Since Agathocles struck extra types and his coins are more numerous than those of Pantaleon,⁵ the latter may have predeceased him, and did not share the exploits of Agathocles' later career.⁶ We suggest that when Eucratides rose to power and Demetrius II became increasingly engaged in the north where he was ultimately overthrown, these brothers expanded their kingdom. From Arachosia they marched up to Kabul, and to celebrate their victory they struck coins in honour of Dionysus,⁷ the mythical conqueror of the Kabul valley before Alexander; this must

1. BMC., Pl. XXX.4 ; CHI. Pl. III. 6-7

2. BMC., Pl. IV. 4 ; cf. Plate Appendix. Pl. I. 10 (Rev. only)

3. Tarn, pp. 76-77

4. BMC p. xxvii ; CASE pp 120-21

5. Cp. for their coin-types, Appendix III, pp. 286-88

6. It is generally agreed that Pantaleon died earlier than Agathocles, (cf. Tarn., p. 157)

7. PMC., Pl. II. 43.; BMC. Pl. IV. 6-8

have also pleased the fancy of the descendants of the old Greek settlers . Probably they did not venture to occupy Bactria.¹ But they extended their empire towards the East. Attempts had probably been made already by Antimachus and Demetrius II in that direction but with no permanent results. It seems that both the brothers proceeded to occupy Western Gandhāra , but by the time Takṣaśilā was occupied Pantaleon had died ; this is shown from the fact that whereas both strike coins of the "Indian goddess and maneless lion" type², only Agathocles strikes the 'hirañśame' coins³ and those which bear the 'stūpa and tree-in-railing.'⁴ The attribution of these types to the region of Takṣaśilā seems certain⁵ and it is difficult to agree with the suggestion that they were struck at Kāpiśā.⁶ Allan is perhaps right in saying that the earliest Yavana coins in Takṣaśilā are, however, those which bear 'elephant and horse' with $\overline{\Lambda}$ below the horse.⁷ On them there is a plant before the elephant on the obverse and a star above the horse on the reverse. The star and plant link these coins with the other Takṣaśilā coins bearing the name of Agathocles and it might be suggested that $\overline{\Lambda}$ stands for Agathocles.⁸ Cunningham , however, suggested that $\overline{\Lambda}$ is the monogram TA , the mint-mark of

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1. Their coins are scarcely found in Bactria.
 2. PMC., Pl. II.35; BMC., Pl. III.9, Pl. IV. 9. The description of the obverse female figure as 'dancing girl' is not correct, cf. Allan, Marshall's Taxila, II.p. 858.
 3. PMC., p. 18, Pl. II, 51, the kharoṣṭhī legend was read as hitajasame. but cf. Allan, BMC. Ancient India., pp. cxxxi ff. and Marshall's Taxila, II, p. 857.
 4. PMC., p. 18, Pl. II. 53
 5. Allan, Marshall's Taxila ., p. 857
 6. Tarn., p. 161
 7. Allan, op.cit., p. 857 ; BMC. Ancient India., Pl. XXXIII.7
 8. Allan, op.cit., p. 857

Takṣaśilā¹ and Allan agrees that a mint is more in keeping with the Greek practice than the use of an initial as an abbreviation of a King's name.² The use of Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī alphabets on the money of Agathocles³ reminds us of similar use in the local Negama coins of Takṣaśilā⁴, and in our opinion they probably give no evidence that Agathocles extended Greek power to the east of Takṣaśilā, towards the territories of the Audumbaras and Kuṇindas.⁵

For a time Agathocles must have possessed parts of Gandhāra including Takṣaśilā. The Yavana kingdom was thus enlarged and the prestige of Yavana power reached new grounds. This was an occasion which Agathocles may well have wished to celebrate. He ~~chose~~ ^{chose} some prominent personalities including probably his father Demetrius I and struck medals commemorating them. Besides Demetrius I⁶ the list included Alexander⁷, Antiochus II (or III)⁸, Diodotus I,⁹ and Euthydemus I.¹⁰ We are unable to follow Tarn's conclusion that the Commemorative medals struck by Agathocles show his pedigree¹¹ and thereby justify his claim to rule against Eucratides, who was, according to him, commissioned

1. Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, p. 62.

2. Allan, op.cit., p. 858

3. PMC. pp. 17-18

4. Allan, BMC. Ancient India. Pl. XXXI. 1-6

5. But cf. Allan, Marshall's Taxila, II., p. 858

6. NC., 1934, Pl. III. 1. cf. Appendix. III for the description of this and the other Commemorative medals.

7. BMC. Pl. IV., 1; PMC. Pl. II. 41.

8. Cunningham, CASE., pl. II. 3.

9. BMC. Pl. IV. 2.

10. BMC. Pl. IV. 3.

11. Tarn., Appendix 3, Agathocles' Pedigree Coins., pp. 446 ff.

by the Seleucids and who had the backing of Antiochus IV.¹ We have shown that there is no reason to believe that the Yavanas could strengthen their claims to sovereignty by showing to the people their attachment to the Seleucids. And so there is no need to postulate that the Commemorative medals of the Yavana kings² are pedigree coins tracing their ancestry back to the Seleucids and even to Alexander. But Tarn himself admits that there was actually no relationship between Alexander and Seleucus I ;³ similarly we have no evidence to show that Antiochus II (or III) , Diodotus I and Euthydemus I were all related by matrimonial ties. Altheim is right when he says that if the medals of Agathocles were really pedigree coins he would not have failed to commemorate Seleucus I himself.⁴ We must also note that on the basis of our evidence only one person can be named who actually came into conflict with Eucratides and that was Demetrius, in our opinion Demetrius II.⁵ But no evidence, literary or numismatic, exist to show that Agathocles came into direct conflict with Eucratides ; why, therefore, should he have taken pains to show his pedigree in order to win the sentiments of the Yavanas, when Demetrius II did not do so,

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1. Tarn., pp. 201, 263, 439-40, 446-51 ; cf. his chapter V on Antiochus IV and Eucratides.
 2. Antimachus Theos and Eucratides also struck Commemorative medals.
 3. Tarn., p. 447. " Now as a matter of history it is certain that Alexander had no relative named Apama". His point is that in the first century B.C. there was in existence a 'fictitious pedigree' of the Seleucid house which derived the descent of the dynasty from Alexander, in the Middle East. But there is no evidence to suggest even a fictitious pedigree tracing the Indo-Greeks back to the Seleucids, as we have in the case of the latter, and the matrimonial connections supposed by Tarn have no sound basis.
 4. Altheim, I., p. 22 , also II , p. 55
 5. The evidence of the Eucratides' overstrike on Apollodotus' might have been considered here had there been certainty of the existence of an Apollodotus I, but cf. infra., pp. 103 ff., 195 ff.

and, more, surprising, when even Eucratides did not depict on his coins any of the known personalities of the Seleucid dynasty.¹ We are not convinced therefore that the commemorative medals of Agathocles are pedigree coins.

The coins of Agathocles show that he must have ruled for some time after Pantaleon's death ; both the brothers may have covered twenty years after the death of Demetrius I in 185 B.C. and thus Agathocles died about the same time as Demetrius II.

The death of Demetrius II and Agathocles facilitated the occupation of the Kabul valley, Arachosia and possibly parts of Seistan by Eucratides. His coins have been found in the Kabul valley in large numbers, but the statement of Cunningham² that " many thousands" were discovered at Begram is not attested by Masson's account.³ Having firmly established himself in the possession of the Paropamisadae, Eucratides thought himself entitled to the "greatness" Justin has given him;⁴ Demetrius II, having occupied the Kabul region, called himself Aniketos; Eucratides, having conquered it, called himself Megas.⁵ Eucratides is one of the two kings after Euthydemus I who struck gold coins, the other being Menander.⁶ Besides one ~~xxxix~~ or two staters,⁷ ~~he is known to have struck~~ he is known to have

1. Tarn (p. 439) maintains that the 'pedigree coins' of Agathocles were struck for him in Bactria, as would be natural in the case of a sub-king. But it is strange that Demetrius (I), who according to Tarn was the main rival of Eucratides, and who was rather 'Hellenistic', should himself have missed the opportunity of tracing his relationship to the Seleucids and Alexander on his own coins; and why he should have chosen Agathocles and Antimachus (I) among his sub-kings, especially when the coins were minted for them in Bactria. As a matter of fact, the coins show that Agathocles was a more important figure than Demetrius I, and on Tarn's hypothesis, must have been a sub-king out of all proportion to his master.

2. CASE, p. 177

3. JASB. 1836., p. 547, also MC. 1947, p. 40

4. Justin. XLI. 6.

5. Cf. his coins. Appendix. III. p. 288

6. An uninscribed gold coin is generally ascribed to Menander, cf. *infra*. p.

7. NC. 1923., p. 318. pl. XIV. 4


issued a Twenty-stater gold medallion,¹ ~~probably~~ the largest gold piece of antiquity. His type and title on coins spread and became popular; ~~it was supposed that~~ Timarchus, the rebel satrap of Media, used ~~them~~², and if this is so, Eucratides must have achieved his success in the Paropamisadae before the year 162, the date of Timarchus' revolt.³

A few copper coins giving the name of Eucratides and bearing on the reverse the image of a deity and the superscription Kavisīye Nagara Devata,⁴ are usually discussed as a proof of Eucratides' conquest of the Kabul valley. But we are doubtful whether these coins were actually struck by Eucratides I,⁵ although ^h_kis does not affect our conclusion that Eucratides I did occupy the Parapamisadae. It was conventional until recently to describe the deity on the coin as Zeus seated on a throne.⁶ Cunningham probably suggested this identification because at that time he had only poor specimens to work upon.⁷ This 'Zeus' was uncritically accepted by successive writers⁸ as late as Whitehead in 1923⁹ and the identification was adopted by Tarn¹⁰ and Marshall¹¹. However, Zeus is never depicted on coins of this series

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1. ~~Plate Appendix.~~ . Seltman, Greek Coins, Pl. LV.5
It was first published in Revue Numismatique, 1867. Pl. XII
 2. Gardner, BMC. p. xxvi ; Tarn, pp. 212, 218 ; Von Sallet, p. 103
 3. Tarn., loc. cit.
 4. PMC, Pl. III. 131; BMC. Pl. VI.8. Cf. for an enlarged illustration Plate Appendix. Pl. I.9
 5. We give our reasons in Chapter V. pp. 195-98
 6. BMC. p. 19 ; PMC., p. 26 ; NC. 1923 ., p. 318-19
 7. CASE., p. 169
 8. Gardner, op.cit. ; Rapson, JRAS, 1905, p. 784 , CHI., p. 555 f.; Whitehead
PMC. p. 26
 9. NC. 1923 ., pp. 318-19
 10. Tarn., pp. 138 , 212
 11. Taxila., I. p. 30 , II, p. 768

without his attribute or attributes ; he nearly always holds his sceptre as king of the gods, and usually the aegis and thunderbolt in addition. In the present case not only are these attributes absent¹, but the figure is specifically described as the City deity of Kāpiśī; it is accompanied by two symbols, a mountain² and the head of an elephant. On the evidence of Hsüan Tsang, Rapson thought that this 'Zeus' represents the 'Elephant-god' connected with the capital of Kāpiśā ;³ important hypotheses were built on this claim by later writers, for it was said that this was the characteristic coin-type of the house of Eucratides in the Kabul valley.⁴ But the coins of this type which were first discovered and illustrated were not distinct enough to show the details of the figure, and doubts were already expressed as to its identity with Zeus. Von Sallet compared it with a figure on the money of Hippostratus⁵. It is noteworthy, that Charles Masson, the first discoverer of the piece, described it as a " Female deity sitting , with turreted crown like Cybele." ⁶ Attempts have been made by late writers also to identify the deity. J.N.Banerjea suggested an identification with Indra⁷ who was known to be the Yakṣa of Indrapura in the Mahā-māyurī ⁸. This Indrapura he finds in the name Si-pi-to-fa-la-tzu of Hsüan Tsang, Si-pi-to-fa-la-tzu being Śvetāśālaya, the abode of

1. But it is interesting to note that the Zeus-Mithra on some coins of Amyntas ~~XXXXXX~~ (e.g. NC.1947, Pl. II,1) holds a palm; this is however a special type for another reason also, that ~~is~~ the god holds on his outstretched right hand Pallas and not Nike or Hecate; and the sceptre of Zeus is not absent . Cp. Platte Appendix, Pl. IV.2 (Rev.)

2. It can also be a chaitya or a temple. On a coin examined by us it looks like 

3. CHI . pp. 555-56

4. Tarn, p. 437; Marshall, op.cit. I.p.30, II., p.768

5. Von Sallet., pp. 101-2

6. JASB. 1834., p. 164, Pl. VIII. 11

7. IHQ. 1938, pp. 295-300, 749; also his Development of Hindu Iconography,

8. JA. 1915 .p. 38

Indra, who was known as Śvetavat. Some scholars would like to connect the elephant of this type with Buddhism.¹ But it was left to Whitehead to rediscover the real nature of the deity ; in two of his recent papers he has emphasised that the deity is a City goddess,² and thus it seems that Masson's description was correct. We have examined the five specimens in the British Museum and a few more in private collections, and we are convinced that the divinity wears "a mural crown and carries a palm but not a sceptre"; it may ~~be~~ rather be compared with the City Fortune on a copper coin of Hippostratus,³ on the silver of Maues⁴ and on a copper coin of Azilises⁵; on some specimens the figure seems certainly female. Further, two other points observed by Whitehead are also quite pertinent; the legend itself precisely calls it the "City-deity of Kapiśī", and that deity cannot be Zeus on the coins of Maues and Azilises since in each case he appears on the reverse side of the coin.⁶ Like the 'elephant' of Takṣaśilā, the type "Zeus enthroned of Alexandria-Kapiśa(Kapiśi)" must be given up.⁷ This does not mean, ~~however~~ however, that the coins with Zeus as a type were not struck in the Kabul valley.

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1. Burn, JRAS. 1941 ,pp. 63-64 , cf. also Foucher, Iconography of Buddha's Nativity, MAI, 46, pp. 12-13
 2. NC. 1947, pp. 28-32 ; NC. 1950, pp. 205-6
 3. NC. 1950, Pl. XII. 4
 4. Ibid., Pl. XII. 2
 5. Ibid., Pl. XII. 3
 6. Ibid., p. 205. There are ,however, some exceptions.
 7. Tarn., p. 437 ff. Whitehead, NC. 1950. loc.cit.

One coin of Eucratides of the 'Kaviṣiye Nagara' type has been found overstruck on a piece of Apollodotus;¹ no such second specimen has so far been reported.² This involves two problems, the significance of an overstrike and the existence of an Apollodotus earlier than Eucratides. It was thought that 'overstrikes' are actually 'restrikes' and that they imply a conquest,³ and indicate real transfer of power from one king to the other. But it has been shown that this generalisation ~~about the overstrikes~~ is not correct, for coins of an early or contemporary king were occasionally used as blanks, perhaps owing to a shortage of metal.⁴ So this overstrike does not necessarily imply that an Eucratides ~~took over~~ the Kabul valley from an Apollodotus. But we must discuss whether there was an Apollodotus, known as Apollodotus I, before Eucratides I.⁵

No one seems to doubt ~~in~~ the existence of two Apollodotus'; the coins which bear a portrait are obviously of a later Apollodotus,⁶ and the rest have been divided, more or less arbitrarily, between the two.⁷ It is supposed that the style and the geographical distribution of the coins bearing the name of Apollodotus indicate this division and that the two kings are distinguished from their titles. It has been

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1. Cunningham, CASE. Pl. VI.5, which is now in BM. and an enlarged photograph is illustrated in the Plate Appendix. Pl. I.8
 2. It is unfortunate that people have been misled by such statements as "... certain copper coins of Apollodotus I have been restruck by Eucratides," (CHI. p. 555), cf. also, BMC. p. xxxviii.
 3. Rapson, CHI. loc.cit. ; Tarn, p. 212 f.
 4. C.H.V. Sutherland has discussed Greek overstrikes in general, NC. 1942 p. 1 f. ; Burn, JRAS. 1941 p. 65 ; Whitehead, NC. 1947 p. 32, NC. 1950, p. 210.
 5. Part of this discussion is continued in Chapter V, pp. 195-200
 6. PMC. Pl. IV, 263 ; BMC. Pl. X.1; cf. also Plate Appendix.
 7. The only actual attempt at dividing the copper money was done by Gardner in BMC., pp. 34, 37 and that has been generally followed, but cf. infra, p. 198-201

argued

that Apollodotus I was a king who existed earlier than Eucratides I and that he was a prominent figure mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea¹ and Trogus' Prologue.² And now he is one of the three Yavana kings very often discussed in connection with the Yavana conquest in India.

If there was an early Apollodotus I, a prominent king as he is considered to be, not only would he have placed his portrait on his coins but he ~~might~~^{would} have also struck tetradrachms; their absence has ~~been~~ not been ~~mentioned~~ duly noted, which considering the period to which he is generally thought to belong, is rather surprising.³ Even the silver drachms,⁴ of which more square than round specimens have been found and which conform to a reduced weight standard⁵, do not in our opinion belong to the hypothetical Apollodotus I. The type of these coins, Elephant and Bull together, occurs elsewhere only on a square copper of Heliocles II⁶ to reappear later on the money of Maues Azes and Azilises;⁷ taken separately the elephant appears to be more common on the Yavana ~~xx~~ coins and the bull on the Śaka-Pahlava. The

1. Section 47.

2. XL1.

3. Especially now in view of the fact that tetradrachms of almost all the kings ~~including Menander~~ are known, and the more so when we learn that even Attic tetradrachms of Menander and several rulers after Heliocles I are also known.

4. PMC, Pl. IV. 231, 236

5. Cf. also Whitehead, NC. 1923 p. 302. Apollodotus struck a few round pieces in silver weighing about 31 grains, which are in a class by themselves. The square bull and elephant coins are ~~referred to as~~^{referred to as} hybrid drachm weight., cf. also Allan, Marshall's Taxila. II. p. 861

6. Cf. also Whitehead, PMC. p. 6 where he noted this fact. For the coins of Heliocles cf. PMC. III, 149

7. PMC, X. 32 (Maues); PMC XII, 288 (Azes); PMC XIV 363 (Azilises)

square copper of Heliocles II and the square silver of Apollodotus II may have provided a coin-type, which was adopted by the succeeding Śaka and Pahlava kings. They bear monograms on both obverse and reverse, sometimes two on each side.¹ Double monograms ~~xxx~~ become common only with later Yavana kings.² The monograms are mostly unfamiliar to the period to which the hypothetical Apollodotus I would belong; one of them **C** is a round sigma, which, associated with **ω**, a round omega, ~~xxx~~ may indicate a late date. Some of the common monograms of the so-called Apollodotus I appear quite frequently on the money of Hermaeus³ and even of Azes⁴. Some have no monograms at all.⁵ The only other Yavana king who struck square silver drachms was Philoxenus;⁶ the style and fabric of these silver drachms of ~~Apollodotus~~ are similar to those of the silver drachms of ~~Philoxenus~~ on the one hand and of Antialcidas and Antimachus II on the other.⁷ There is, therefore, reason to believe that these coins also belong to the Apollodotus hitherto known as Apollodotus II, who struck silver tetradrachms on the Indian standard; he may not have been far removed in time from Philoxenus, Antialcidas and Hippostratus.

1. Cp. BMC. s.v. Apollodotus I and II.

2. Philoxenus, Hermaeus &c.

3. e.g. **M** (cp. BMC., p. 36. Nos. 32-37 and p. 63. Nos. 13-14) p. 66. Nos. 153, 145). **Π** (cp. BMC., p. 36. No. 38 and p. 62. Nos. 5-6)

4. e.g. **η** (cp. BMC., p. 34. No. 9, p. 35. No. 16 and p. 86. No. 145, 153, p. 87. No. 164); **Α** (cp. BMC., p. 35. Nos. 17-19 and p. 86. No. 154, p. 87. No. 166, 168 etc.)

5. BMC. Pl. IX. 8

6. cp. BMC & PMG s.v. Philoxenus.

7. Cf. also, Allan, Marshall's Taxila, II., p. 861. Allan considers the drachms of Apollodotus to be of the same quality and weight as those struck by Menander, Antialcidas and Antimachus II.

The literary evidence also is clear enough to justify this conclusion; unfortunately scholars have confused the two kings and the mistakes of one authority have been faithfully copied by the ~~other~~ next. Justin in his Trogus Prologues was found to write ¹, "Indicae quoque res additae, gestae per Apollodorum et Menandrum, reges eorum." But 'the learned and judicious' Bayer ~~emended~~ ^{put} Apollodotum in place of Apollodorum,² following Johannes Valens who thought "that it is a most erroneous passage, for Apollodorus was not a king of the Bactrians, but an historian."³ The main reason to justify this emendation was the mention of Apollodotus with Menander in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea ⁴. Looking into many of the old editions of Justin we find that various readings were known. One text reads Apostolodorum, whereas some editors have either ".... ex Apollodoro, gestae per Menandrum & Demetri-um reges eorum," or ".... ex Apollodoro gestae per Menandrum & Eucrati-dem reges eorum".⁵ The passage in Strabo which mentions the exploits of Menander and Demetrius in India also says, "ὡς φησιν Ἀπολλοδῶρος ὁ Ἀρτεμιτηνός."⁶ We do not know for certain what was the source of

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1. XLI.
 2. Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani., pp. 77-80
 3. Ibid., p. 78 ; cf. also Tod, Transactions of RAS, I. p. 223 f.
 4. Abraham Gronovius' edition, p. 1013, who collects some of these readings. See Bibliography for this and other editions used.
 4. Section, 47.
 6. Strabo, XI. 11.1

Trogus' information,¹ but undoubtedly Apollodorus, the author of Parthica, was earlier than both Strabo and Trogus,² and even if he was not the main source he may well have been one of the primary sources utilised by Trogus; and, this particular information about the exploits of Yavana kings in India may well have been due to him, for there is no other earlier source which is definitely known.³ It is likely that both Strabo and Trogus used Apollodorus also, and just as Strabo referred to Apollodorus, Trogus did the same. It is reasonable, therefore, to take the passage concerned as referring to the historian rather than to a king to whom, as we have seen, no title to greatness can be given. There can be no controversy about the passage in Strabo and that is all the more reason why we should prefer the one against the other; it is interesting to note that Apollodotus is not mentioned in Strabo. Justin, who elucidated Trogus' prologues, does not mention Apollodotus whereas he does mention Demetrius, Menander and Eucratides; if the name of Apollodotus had actually existed in Trogus it is unlikely that Justin would have missed it.⁴ Obviously there ~~is~~ something wrong in the sentence as handed down to us. Those early editors who recognised that the reference is to the historian Apollodorus were puzzled by et and, therefore, inserted either the name of Demetrius or Eucratides,
that off

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1. Cf. Tarn's discussion, p. 45 f.; Altheim, I.pt. i, ch. I; Tarn's note in his Addenda, p. 522; also JHS. 1953 p. 170
 2. Trogus died 14 A.D (?), Strabo died 24 A.D (?); and the date of Apollodorus, according to Tarn, must fall between ~~xxx~~ c. 130 and 87 B.C.
 3. Tarn (pp. 45-53) tells us about the unknown sources of Trogus and Plutarch.
 4. Justin, XLI.

who were the two other kings of the Yavanas besides Menander known to the Classical authors. But Schlegel considered this as disfiguring an ancient text.¹ We, therefore suggest the following reading : "Indicae quoque res additae gestae ex Apollodoro per Menandrum, regem eorum."

^{emendment} This ^{in which case} only requires et and per to change their places, ~~and~~ et is clearly a mistake for ex. And then reges will naturally become regem.

Moreover, as we shall see below, the mention of the name of Apollodotus in the ^ePeriplus upon which Bayer based his emendation, is not sufficient evidence ^{to postulate} ~~for the existence of~~ an early king ~~as~~ Apollodotus I, ruling far and wide in India; most probably it refers to the later Apollodotus who is known as Apollodotus II. To quote the passage at length : " The country inland from Barygaza is inhabited by numerous tribes, such as the Aratti, the Arachosii, the Gandaraii and the people of Poclais, in which is Bucephalus Alexandria. Above these is the very warlike nation of the Bactrians, who are under their own king. And Alexander setting out from these parts, penetrated to the Ganges , leaving aside Damirica and the Southern part of India; and to the present day ancient drachmae are current in Barygaza, coming from this country; bearing inscriptions in Greek letters, and the devices of those who reigned after Alexander, Apollodotus and Menander. " Much has been made of this passage without justification. It merely states that some coins which bore Greek inscriptions and the devices of Apollodotus and Menander circulated in Barygaza, which was known to be a trading centre. The passage clearly implies that these coins

1. Periplus., sec. 47. (Schoff's Translation, p. 41)

came from some outside area, probably from where the 'warlike nation of the Bactrians' ruled. Or, it may be, that the author of the Periplus had seen the coins of a certain Apollodotus and Menander and he just noticed similar coins in Barygaza not necessarily of their own minting. The name of Apollodotus mentioned in the Periplus evidently refers to the later king of that name, whose coins are not only more numerous and widely spread, but who, like Menander, was more closely in touch with India proper than an early hypothetical Apollodotus I. Apart from this the silver coins of the later Western Kṣatrapas of Mahārāṣṭra and Ujjain are held ^{to} by inspired by the drachms of Apollodotus,¹ that is of Apollodotus II,² who alone of the two put his portrait on his coins. The Western Kṣatrapas coins bear also traces of Greek legends.³ The author of the Periplus, who was a trader, may have noticed the similitude and mentioned them as a curiosity. This explains the mystery of the statement of Whitehead that, "in fact I have not heard of the discovery of a single Greek coin at Broach;"⁴ moreover, Dr. G.P. Taylor who collected coins in Ahmedabad for thirty years, never found the money of Apollodotus.⁵ Even if ~~they were~~ some coins of Menander and Apollodotus were actually found there by the author of Periplus, this gives no proof that they ruled there since ~~they~~ coins are said to have been brought to Barygaza, almost certainly by way of trade.

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1. Rapson, BMC. Andhras, W. Kṣatrapas etc., p. cviii, cxciv; Indian Coins, p. 21
 2. Rapson, Indian Coins, p. 21., "more particularly, perhaps from those of Apollodotus Philopator". Cf. also Tarn, p. 318.
 3. cp. BMC. Western Kṣatrapas etc. pp. cxc1-cxciv
 4. NC. 1940 p. 101
 5. NC. 1950, p. 207

Thus there is hardly any evidence for the existence of an early Apollodotus I as a king of the Yavanas. The testimony of the overstrike piece does not solve the problem, w as we shall show in Chapter V, where we also discuss the difficulty in distinguishing two Apollodotus on copper coins.¹ The overstrike does not necessarily indicate that there was an Apollodotus I earlier than Eucratides I, and it is not certain that the overstriker Eucratides was the famous Eucratides I.²

To return to Eucratides. After his occupation of the Paropamisadae he had now two possible lines of advance, to the south via Ghazni to Kandahar and Seistan, and to Gandhāra in the east. Probably he made progress as far as possible in both directions. His coins have been discovered in Arachosia and Seistan³ and recently in the Mir Zakah treasure near Ghazni.⁴ Since Eucratides seems to have been by no means the last ruler in Arachosia and Seistan before it was occupied by the Parthians it is likely that he possessed a considerable part of these regions.

But it is unlikely that his success in Gandhāra was extensive ; at least he did not cross the Indus.⁵ His money is reported to be

1. Infra., pp. 198-200

2. Infra., pp. 195-98

3. Cunningham, CASE., p. 177 . The coins in the collections of Stacy and Hutton w ere obtained in Kandahar and Seistan.

4. Schlumberger, p. 75

5. Marshall, Taxila., I.p. 31., "whether he ever crossed the Indus and possessed himself of Taxila is not altogether clear."

rare in Gandhāra.¹ Only four copper coins have been found in Takṣaśilā, and none of them in the so-called Greek Stratum.² One of the copper has 'pilei' on reverse, which, it has been suggested, became the local type of the Takṣaśilā mint under the Yavanas, because Liaka Kusulaka used it and is assumed to have copied it from his Yavana predecessors there.³ But Allan has shown that "the original of Liaka Kusulaka's coinage belongs not to Takṣaśilā but to Arachosia, Gedrosia and Paropamisadae."⁴ The type is not a very common one, and of the coins found at Takṣaśilā only those of ~~Antialcidas~~ Archebius and Antialcidas have it; the excavations certainly do not reveal that preponderance of the 'pilei' type which we should have expected a local mintage to show.⁵ It is, however, not unlikely that Eucratides I occupied some parts of the Western Gandhāra. But certainly, the statement of Marshall that, "he was the first of the Indo-Greeks also to use the type 'Nike with wreath and palm', which was to become characteristic of Gandhāra and to be copied there by Menander, Epander, Antimachus II, Strato I, Philoxenus, Artemidorus, Archebius, Maues and Azes I etc.,"⁶ is not correct; Antimachus I Theos had struck a coin with Nike holding a wreath and palm.⁷

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1. Haughton in his list, NC. 1943, p. 56, does not name any place in Gandhāra. Also, Cunningham, op.cit., p. 177; Allan, Marshall's Taxila, II., p. 858
 2. Marshall, op.cit., II. p. 766
 3. Rapson, CHI., p. 556; Marshall, op.cit., I. p. 31
 4. Allan, op.cit., p. 858
 5. The Stratigraphical and group Chart of Greek coins found in Sirkap, Taxila, II. pp. 766-767, shows Eucratides-1, Archebius-3 and Antialcidas-14
 6. Marshall, op.cit., I. pp. 30-31
 7. PMC. Pl. II, 59; CASE., Pl. I. 7

Eucratides, who had long been away from Bactria, was returning home about 155 B.C.¹ when he was killed by an ungrateful son whom he had made a Joint-king.² Tarn's view that Eucratides was killed by "a son" of Demetrius I is very misleading³; it has rightly been rejected by others.⁴ The statement of Justin is quite clear and unambiguous; the contrast of filius and pater conclusively shows that the murderer was the son of Eucratides whom his father had made socius regni; Eucratides did not fall in battle with the Parthians.⁵ Tarn misrepresents Justin's own text as describing the murder to have taken place in battle, though the words are 'in itinere'; there is no reason to doubt that the son used a chariot on a road as well as in battle!⁶ The killer of Eucratides must have been his own son, who was also his Joint-king; Tarn notes that "Justin does not say 'a filio ejus'⁷ - but this ~~is a quibble~~ ^{appears to} ~~be a quibble~~, for why should Eucratides make any other person's son his 'socius regni'? Who then was the parricide?

Eucratides had two sons. Mionnet's view of the relationship of Heliocles to Eucratides was adopted by Wilson⁸ and Lassen⁹, and the

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1. i.e. he may have ruled for 15 or 16 years if he came to power at about the same time as Mithridates I in 171 B.C. cf. supra. 86
 2. Justin, XLI . 6. ~~and infra p.~~
 3. Tarn ., pp. 219-222.
 4. Burn, JRAS., 1941, p. 63; Altheim, pp. 57-58
Jenkins. NC. 1951, p. 15 f.
 5. Jenkins, op. cit., p. 16
 6. Burn, op. cit. p. 63
 7. Tarn., p. 220, fn. 1
 8. Ariana Antiqua., pp. 263-64. Quotes Mionnet's supplement, Vol. VIII p. 469
 9. JASB. 1840, p. 674

discovery of the 'Heliocles-Laodice' piece of Eucratides confirmed it. That there were two Eucratides' was first suggested by Bayer¹ and was supported by Rochette. Cunningham was against this view² but Macdonald favoured it.³ Trever, who first published a coin of Eucratides with the Soter title, concluded that there was only one Eucratides.⁴ Whitehead, who republished the coin, did not commit himself, but only made Trever's view known;⁵ now more and more coins of this type are coming to light,⁶ and he is inclined to admit two Eucratides'. Tarn also considered the possibility of a second Eucratides, as a son or brother of Heliocles I, appointed to govern regions north of the Hindu Kush.⁷ We prefer to take him as a son of Heliocles I rather than of Eucratides I, as Kozolubski has shown that the coins of Eucratides II are more closely related to those of Heliocles I than to those of Eucratides I.⁸

Plato was probably another son of Eucratides I. Not only are more specimens of the "Helios on Quadriga" type of his coins now known, but three altogether new varieties have recently been discovered⁹; one with a bareheaded bust on the obverse with the usual well known

1. Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani, XXXIX p, 95

2. CASE., p. 161 f.

3. CHI., p. 460

4. Trever., p. 123 Pl. 36, 3-4

5. NC., 1947, pp. 15-16

6. In the unpublished Kunduz hoard there are 37 coins of Eucratides II with the title Soter.

7. Tarn., pp. 271-72

8. Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin., 1953 p. 188

9. Kunduz hoard. Cf. Appendix III for Cointypes and also Plate Appendix

reverse type, another with 'bareheaded bust and Helios on aquadriga facing', and yet another with 'bareheaded bust and Helios or Mithra standing to front'.¹ The discovery of more coins of Plato has disproved one hitherto unquestioned idea that his coins bear the date 147 of the Seleucid era (= 165 B.C.);² the two Greek letters MH ~~and~~ are probably engraver's initials or magistrates name; there is no third letter.³ But even without this evidence Plato must belong to this period on grounds of the type and style of his coins; he did not strike any bilingual coins. The head ~~is a copy of~~ ^{closely resembles} the helmeted head of Eucratides, and the facial features of the bareheaded bust on one of his new coins are very strikingly similar to the typical face of Heliocles I.⁴ His title Epiphanes was also that of Antiochus IV a contemporary Seleucid king. Probably Plato was the eldest son of Eucratides, whom the latter made his Joint-king before Eucratides moved for further conquests towards the Kabul and adjoining regions. Plato thus seems to have been the parricide mentioned by Justin, rather than Heliocles I, who took the epithet of Dikaios.⁵ On the other hand, the title Epiphanes, adopted by Plato, obviously shows him to have been ambitious, and he may well have been too impatient to wait for his father to die a natural death. If we are permitted to make a fanciful suggestion, Justin's statement

1. See Plate Appendix. Pl. II, 1-3

2. BMC. p. xxvi

3. cp. illustrations in the Plate Appendix. Pl. II. 2 . Mr. G.K.Jenkins agrees with us.

4. cp. illustrations of the respective coins in the Plate Appendix. Pl. II

5. The adoption of this epithet has been one of the reasons why some scholars have hesitated to consider Heliocles as the parricide.

that " he drove his chariot through his blood" may be connected with the types 'Helios on chariot' drawn by horses on his coins; it is also interesting to note that 'Helios on quadriga' was not used by any succeeding king, ^{perhaps} ~~probably~~ because it carried the opprobrium of the parricide; Plato, we suggest, became so unpopular that he was soon slain by Heliocles I, who deservedly adopted the title Dikaios. The rarity of Plato's coinage may be explained by the shortness of his abruptly ended reign. Justin's further statement about Parthia's interest in two satrapies of Bactria, which she successfully annexed, taken in connection with his statement that the son who killed his father did so " as if he had killed an enemy", leads us to believe that Parthia was the instigator of Plato's ambition. Foolishly Plato played into the hands of Parthia, with the result that Bactria lost the satrapies of Tapuria and Traxiane;¹ Mithridates must have occupied these areas before he advanced to conquer Media.² We agree with Jenkins that Mithridates I did not conquer Media first because it would leave no room for a period of rule by the Seleucid Demetrius I in that region,³ and , moreover, it is against the order of events most naturally implied by Justin. The view of Altheim , who dissociates the Parthian conquest of Bactria from the death of Eucratides, and who places ~~the~~

1. Strabo. XI.11.2 ; cf. Tarn. Seleucid-Parthian Studies pp.20-24

2. Jenkins. NC. 1951. p.15.

3. Ibid. loc. cit.

the Parthian conquest of Bactria at the end of Mithridates' reign , c. 140-138 B.C. ,¹ is also rightly contested, because Justin says that the Bactrians were brought low before the full establishment of the Parthian empire, and the dated tetradrachms of Mithridates I which Altheim attributes to ^aBactrian mint, as confirming his theory, must in fact have been minted at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris,² as Newell first pointed out.³ Probably the Parthian-Bactrian war started early in the decade 160-150 .⁴ We believe that the usual view of Eucratides I's death in c. 155 is correct.⁵

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1. Altheim., p II. pp. 59 ff.
 2. Jenkins, NC. 1951., p. 16 f.
 3. Newell, NC. 1924., p. 147
 4. Jenkins., op.cit. , p.17
 5. cf, supra, p. 112 ; Macdonald, CHI. p.455
De la Vallée-Poussin , p. 234.

CHAPTER IV

THE CLIMAX OF THE YAVANA POWER IN INDIA

(The death of Eucratides was most unexpected, and there is no clue as to the situation at the time in the regions south and east of the Hindu Kush. Plato, the supposed Parricide, has left no evidence of his rule in the Paropamisadae. Heliocles I, the loyal son of Eucratides, does not seem to have ruled there, since the bilingual coins actually belong to a later king of the same name, most probably a grandson of Eucratides I,¹ who overstruck coins of Strato and the joint-issues of Strato and Agathocleia.² (It is likely that the unsettled conditions of the time produced a man of remarkable ability who was destined to become the most famous of the Yavana kings in India; he was Menander, the Milinda of Indian tradition.

(We are told in the Milindapañho that Menander was born in a village called Kalasi not far from Alasandā and 200 yojanas from Sāgala.³ This Alasandā must be identified with Alexandria of the Caucasus;⁴ Tarn has rightly rejected⁵ the view put forward by French scholars that it refers to Alexandria in Egypt⁶. That Menander was not

1. Cf. infra., pp 168-69

2. Rapson, CHI., pp 553 ., Pl. VI. 16, VII. 25. ; cf. also, infra., p 169

3. The Questions of king Milinda, Pt. 1., p. 127

4. Tarn., pp. 141, 420

5. Tarn., p. 421

6. The Chinese version of the Milindapañho, written several centuries after, describes Alasandā as 2000 yojanas from Sāgala instead of 200. (Demiéville, Les versions Chinoises du Milindapañha, Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, XXIV., p. 168 (cviii) cf. Pelliot, JA. 1914, Pt. II, pp. 413-19
Levi, IHQ. 1936, p. 126

a Euthydemid⁴ no one would doubt, but that he was a commoner by birth because he was born in a village,² may be questioned.³ To a question of Nāgasema, " But did those Kṣatriyas of old exist, who were the founders of the line of kings from which you come," Menander is said to have replied, " Certainly, Sir, how can there be any doubt about that."⁴ But here again , it is not unknown for a commoner who achieves kingship to acquire royal ancestry with it. (Though there is no certainty, it may be suggested that Menander had some connections with Demetrius II and his family. With the discovery of more coins of Demetrius II it seems fairly certain that Pallas was the prevailing type of his coins,⁵ and Pallas was also the commonest type of Menander's money. This connection may have strengthened his cause in establishing his power after the death of Eucratides. He may also have supported his claim by marrying Agathocleia , a royal princess of another family; she is believed to have been his queen⁶ though there is no conclusive proof.⁷ She may have belonged to the family of Pantaleon and Agathocles,⁸ or, as Tarn suggested , have been a daughter of Demetrius I.⁹)

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1. Tarn., pp. 141, 421
2. Tarn., loc.cit.
3. Burn , JRAS. 1941 ,p.66
4. Atthi pana te mahārāja pubbakā khattiyā ye te tava khattiyavamsassa pubbangama ti. Ama bhante, ko samsayo, atthi pubbaka khattiya ye mama khattiyavamsassa pubbangama ti. (Milindapanho.,p. 329)
5. 50 coins found in the Kunduz hoard are all of Pallas type.
6. Rapson, CHI.,p. 552 . " Her relation to Menander can not be proved very definitely; but it is by no means improbable that she was his queen and the governor of his kingdom after his death."
7. NC. 1940 .,p. 97
8. Rapson, op.cit. 552
9. Tarn., pp. 78,225. He takes Rapson, CHI.,p. 552 fn.1 as conclusive but Rapson gives his arguments to show that she may have been the queen of Menander and not that she was a daughter of Demetrius I. Tarn also considers the possibility of Agathocleia being a daughter of Apollodotus I (p. 78).

(Rapson thought that Menander was a contemporary of both Demetrius and Eucratides;¹ this was the basis on which Tarn made his brilliant reconstruction of the history of the Yavanas at the height of their power. Tarn regarded Menander^{as} a general of Demetrius I, whose victories were achieved at the behest of his master² and who took royal titles only when Demetrius was dead.³ Rapson's argument that Demetrius I ~~was~~ and Menanderⁿ were contemporaries because they are mentioned together by Apollodorus, as quoted in Strabo, is hardly convincing.⁴ For, the order in which they are mentioned in Apollodorus might equally well be taken to indicate that Menander was an earlier king than Demetrius,⁵ which is of course ridiculous. We have discussed earlier in detail the confusion in short and scrappy notices in the Western Classical sources.⁶ We have established also that Demetrius II was a fully fledged king, who struck bilingual coins and therefore ruled in the Paropamisadae,⁷ there is thus no chronological link between Demetrius I and Menander. Moreover, if we believe in the theory of Tarn,⁸ Menander must have been a man of mature age when he became king.⁹ But the

1. CHI., pp. 543, 551

2. Tarn., pp. 166-67

3. Ibid., p. 225

4. cf. also Chanda, IHQ. 1929 pp 393 ff, 587 ff.

5. Sircar, AIU., p. 106., "The mention of Demetrius after Menander, who actually flourished later than Demetrius and had nothing to do with Bactria seems to go against chronological sequence and partially mars the historical value of the statement."

6. cf. supra., pp. 59-61, 83

7. cf. supra., p. 82

8. "He must have proved himself as a general before Demetrius invaded India". Tarn, p. 226; also p. 141.

9. Whitehead, NC., 1950., p. 213; Marshall, op.cit., ~~***~~ I., p. 30

earliest coins of Menander show him as a very young man,¹ and as Marshall says, "with an almost girlish countenance",² (Whitehead has rightly remarked that "so early a date for Menander runs counter to the prevailing idea based specially on the coins."³ To consider Menander a contemporary of Eucratides in the sense that they ruled at the same time,⁴ is also not free from difficulties. The coins of both these kings have been found in considerable number in the Kabul region and both of them were undoubtedly great kings; it is not likely, therefore, that both ruled the Kabul region at the same time. In fact, when Rapson says that their coins may reasonably be assigned to the same region he also qualifies his statement by his remark, "... a region which must have passed from one rule to the other."⁵ The fact that some of their copper coins are stylistically connected according to Rapson⁶ indicates in our opinion that Menander succeeded Eucratides in a particular region. And it is clear from the preceding chapters that there is actually no possibility of Menander being a contemporary of Eucratides. That Menander started his royal career almost immediately after the death of

1. Tarn's view that the portraits on Menander's silver *Dikaios* coins show an elderly man (p.226) only proves that when he took this title he was old, but this cannot mean that they were issued earlier than those on which he is youthful. cf. also Whitehead, *NC.* 1950, p.213, Marshall, *op.cit.* Early writers also noted this point, e.g. Masson, *JASB.* 1834 p. 172, speaks of Menander, as "the youthful, the beautiful and beloved Menander", Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua.*, p.281 calls him juvenile.

2. Marshall, *loc.cit.*

3. *NC.* 1940., p. 95

4. *CHI.*, p. 551

5. *CHI.*, *loc.cit.*

6. *CHI.*, *loc.cit.*

Eucratides I need not be doubted. There is no ground to put him even later,¹ and the arguments in favour of this view are invalid, once it is recognised that there was a second Heliocles who overstruck the coins of Strato and Agathocleia.² Sircar's reliance on the Milindapañho tradition that Menander flourished five hundred years after the death of the Buddha³ is most unconvincing.⁴ We have shown that Eucratides I's career ended in c. 155 B.C. and in our opinion this would be the date of Menander's accession. Incidentally this would conform to the chronology of the Yavana invasion of the Madhyadesa mentioned in the Indian literary ~~tradition~~ sources.⁵

Tarn's view that there is no real evidence that Menander ruled in the Paropamisadae⁶ was based on his theory that Menander belonged to the camp of Euthydemus and that as the result of a treaty between them, Eucratides I was left the Paropamisadae and Menander was content to retain Gandhāra.⁷ It is hard to follow Tarn's reasoning that "the

1. Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans*, p. 104., gives the date, 125-95 B.C. ; Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 6th. edn. , p. 385, says, Menander could not have ruled earlier than Heliocles, and again on p. 387, "There is no room for the long and prosperous reign of Menander in the period which elapsed from Demetrius to Strato II."; Sircar, *AIU.*, p. 113, considers 115-90 B.C. as the period of Menander's reign, but he also says in the same paragraph, contradicting himself, "he may have at best, been a later contemporary of Puṣyamitra."
2. cf. ~~infra~~ *infra*, p. 169
3. *AIU.*, pp. 113-14, 114 fn. 1. For this purpose he would put the date of the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha ~~about~~ about the middle of the 7th. century B.C. But the general view now is about 486 B.C. (cf. *AIU.*, p. 36, *CHI.*, p. 171)
4. The round number 500 is very popular in Buddhist literature and it can not be taken seriously.
5. cf. *infra*, p. 133
6. Tarn., p. 217, 228
7. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

mere presence of used coins" of Menander in the Paropamisadae is "little guide"; " had he ruled wherever his coins have been found he would have been king in Pembrokeshire, and his coins from Begram can not compare with the vast number of those of Eucratides collected in that district."¹ Actually there is no evidence for the 'vast number' of Eucratides' coins in Begram²; and surely the number of Menander's coins, 153, found by Masson in Begram does not compare badly with that of Eucratides I 269.³ The difference is not significant, for we should also note that the number of Apollodotus' coins was only 73;⁴ shall we say, therefore, on the basis of this comparatively small total, that Apollodotus, whose coin was overstruck by a certain Eucratides in the Paropamisadae, did not rule there? The refer^ence made to the coin found in Pembrokeshire^{4a} is irrelevant because numismatists argue generally from regular occurrences. Moreover, Tarn tends to be inconsistent when despite his statement quoted above he accepts the rule of Menander over Mathura,⁵ where, after the discovery of Tod's coins⁶, no other specimen has been found, and over Barygaza where no coins have ever been noticed.⁷ And

1. Tarn., pp. 228-29

2. cf. supra., p. 99

3. JASB., 1836p. 547

4. Ibid., loc.cit.

4a. IA., XXXIV ., p. 252

5. Tarn., pp. 251-52

6. Transactions Of RAS., I. pp. 314-15. After many year's search Tod found a coin of Menander of the type 'Helmeted Bust & Victory.'

7. cf. supra., p. 109

the number of Menander coins found in the Kabul region is not negligible. At Hazaurehjat also 108 coins of Menander were found and stray coins were noticed in Kabul;¹ Cunningham traced 70 to Kabul, Hutton got 9 silver coins at Kabul; so also Stacy, who did not find a single coin of Menander at Kandahar, got them when he reached Kabul.² On the basis of his personal knowledge Cunningham concluded that Menander's kingdom included Kabul and eastern Afghanistan. The recent publication of the Mir Zakah treasure³ confirms the rule of Menander in Ghazni and adjoining areas of the Kabul valley in the north; the coins in that treasure, as listed by Schlumberger, are 18 of Eucratides and 521 of Menander, Menander, who was born in Alasandā,⁴ is called a king of Bactria by Plutarch⁵, and Apollodorus regards him as a Bactrian Greek king⁶; it is hardly likely that the Western Classical sources would have referred to Menander thus, had he not ruled over at least the Paropamisadae in the West. And now the discovery of an Attic tetradrachm of Menander⁷ sets speculation at rest; he must have ~~reigned~~ reigned over the Kabul region and also may have made some encroachments north of the Hindu Kush.)

1. JASB, 1836., p. 22.

2. Cunningham, CASE., p. 259

3. Schlumberger, pp. 67-69

4. Milindapanho, p. 82, (Trans. The Questions of king Milinda, pt. 1, p.

5. Plutarch, Moralia, 821 D, E, (Loeb series, vol X., pp 276-79) 127)

6. Strabo, XII.1.1.

7. cf. Appendix III. P. 292

a coin now in Teheran.

. We have seen the photograph of

(With the Paropamisadae in his possession Menander may have advanced east and south to supplant the rule of Eucratides in Gandhāra, Arachosia and Seistan. But there is hardly any evidence that he occupied the two latter regions; Captain Hutton, who resided for a long time in Seistan and Kandahar, did not find a single specimen of the coins of Menander there and Col. Stacy was equally unsuccessful.¹ Probably Seistan and southern parts of Arachosia passed into the hands of the Parthians at the death of Eucratides. (It is possible, however, that some parts of northern and eastern Arachosia, alligned to the Indus river system, were included in the kingdom of Menander.²

(Menander's occupation of Gandhāra, with its two great centres Buṣkalāvati and Takṣaśilā, is amply proved by the numerous finds of his coins. In the excavations at Takṣaśilā 34 coins of Menander have been noticed as against only 4 of Eucratides and 15 of Antialcidas;³ the only king whose coins are more numerous is Apollodotus (the so called Apollodotus II).⁴ In the Sheikhano Dheri hoard,⁵ found near Charsadda, coins of Menander are again predominant. His coins have also been found in the small scale excavation of Charsadda,⁶ and it has been noted that all the gold staters of Menander yet known and the only(?) tetradrachm with an owl on the reverse have come from Charsadda.⁷ (Among the regular

1. Cunningham, CASE., p. 259

2. Marshall, Taxila, I. p. 32

3. Marshall, op.cit., II. p. 766 f.

4. cf. also infra., pp. 195 ff., 231 ff.; supra. p. 103 ff.

5. NC. 1940, pp. 123-26

6. ASR. 1902-3, p. 158

7. Whitehead, NC. 1940, p. 105; Haughton, NC. 1943, p. 51

findplaces of his coins Haughton has listed Utmanzai, Shabkadar, Rajjar, Mardan, Swabi, Takṣaśilā, Peshawar, and Rawalpindi¹, all in the region of Gandhāra. Menander's conquest of Gandhāra was probably not difficult, since it had been conquered by his Yavana predecessors;² his greatness lies in the fact that he extended the Yavana kingdom beyond Gandhāra.

(In the north he occupied Hazara and the Swat valley. 200 drachms in of his/mint condition have been found in Swat³ and 721 further specimens showing little signs of circulation, in the First Bajaur hoard;⁴ the second Bajaur hoard⁵ contained 92 coins of Menander out of 120 examined by Haughton. And now, with the discovery of the Bajaur Casket Inscription⁶ of the reign of Menander, it is undoubted that Swat valley was included within his kingdom and was under the governorship of Viyakamitra, who, as the name shows, must have been a prince of Indian origin.⁷ The Inscription consists of two groups of small epigraphs of different periods; the first mentions the name of Mahārāja Minadra and can be dated in the middle of the 2nd. century B.C.,⁸ while the second, refers to the reconsecration of the casket in the

1. Haughton, NC. 1943, pp. 57-58

2. Supra., CH. III

3. NC. 1923, p. 313

4. Martin, NS. XL (1926-27), pp. 18-21

5. Haughton, JNSI., p. 1942, p. 61; NC. 1947, p. 141 f.

6. N.G. Majumdar, Ep. Ind. XXIV pp. 1-8; Sten Konow, NIA 1939-40, pp. 639-48, Ep. Ind. XXVII, pp. 52-58

7. N.G. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 6

8. N.G. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 2; Sten Konow, NIA, 1939-40, p. 640 f., also Ep. Ind. XXVII p. 53

time of a certain Vijayamitra¹ who has been identified with the Vijayamitra of coins found in Takṣāśilā², is dated sometime in the first century B.C.³ Unfortunately the portion of the lid of the casket which may have contained a date is broken.⁴ Nevertheless, this small and fragmentary inscription is of great value.⁵⁾

Menander evidently controlled Udyāna⁶ and Abhisāra⁷ but whether he made incursions into the Kashmir valley is doubtful. The evidence of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī is neither explicit nor reliable for this period.⁸ However, not far from these areas at Dhamataur in the vicinity of Abbottabad nine hemidrachms of Menander were found in a pot at the base of an old wall near which is situated a Buddhist stupa.⁹ But strangely there is no evidence, either numismatic or literary, for even the temporary rule of Menander in the valley of Kashmir.

1. Sten Konow, NIA. 1939-40, p. 642, Ep. Ind., p. XXVII pp. 55-57, thinks that Vijayamitra and Viyakamitra of the Bajaur Inscription are the same person. But we believe that Majumdar's original view is correct because the portions in which these names occur are palaeographically of different periods, and further in such a small epigraph it is most unlikely that the same person should be referred by two clearly different names. From the similarity of the names it is possible that the two were members of the same family.
2. N.G. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 6; Whitehead, NC. 1944, pp. 99-104
3. N.G. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 2, "probably a little more than 50 years after the first inscription"; Sten Konow, NIA 1939-40, p. 641, middle of the first century B.C.
4. There is no mention of a regnal year of Menander as was thought by some scholars. (cf. Tarn, p. 520, who later corrected himself in the Addenda.)
5. Minamdra as the name of a donor is noticed on a piece of sculpture of the Peshawar Museum, representing two wrestlers. But the style of the characters points to the later Kuṣāṇa period, Sten Konow, CII., p. 134
6. IHQ., 1953 p. 15. The country between the rivers Suvastu and Gauri was known as Uḍḍiyāna; it was considered in ancient days a part of Gandhāra.
7. The district of Hazara and the adjoining regions.
cf. PHAI, 6th. edn., p. 248. (See NC. 1923., p. 342 for coin finds at Dudial in the Hazara District,
8. Cf. Supra., p. 14
9. H.L. Haughton, NC. 1943, p. 57

(Since he was in possession of Takṣaśilā , the command of Menander may have been obeyed in the Sind-Sagar Doab, "which had belonged to the old Taxilan kingdom and which extended right across the western Punjab as far as the Panjnad."¹ But the claim that he made further conquests in the east beyond the Jhelum, where Bucephala, one of the Alexandrian townships, is supposed to have existed , and beyond the Chenab, in the old country of the Madras with their capital at Sākala² has to be studied closely.

We have no means of verifying whether Bucephala still existed in the hostile Punjab at this time , but surely the mere existence of a Greek camp-town more than 150 years before Menander's time is no proof of his conquest of the Jhelum -Chenab doab. The view of Rapson that the 'ox-head' and the figure of 'victory' on the coins of Menander may represent Bucephala and Nicaea, ³ the two cities which Alexander founded on the Jhelum in the realm of Porus, is hardly convincing. The figure of 'Victory' had been used before ~~xx~~ Menander by Eucratides I and Antimachus I ⁴ but has never been taken to prove that Eucratides I or Antimachus I ruled east of the Jhelum. Similarly the * evidence of (Menander's possession of the Madra country sought in the Milindapañho is weak. Sāgala where the king Milinda is said to have ruled has been identified with Sialkot in the Rechna doab by J.F.Fleet, who combined the evidence of the epics with that of the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Tsang.)

1. Marshall, Taxila, I . , p. 32. Probably this area was known as Sindhu Janapada, cf. V.S.Agrawala, IHQ. 1953., p.15.

2. Rapson, CHI. , p. 551

3. Ibid., loc.cit.

4. PMC. pp. 19,26-27

It is often difficult to locate places from the topographical data of Hsüan Tsang and Fleet could only arrive at the identification by making substantial assumptions and allowances ;¹ other scholars on the strength of the same evidence had already placed Sākala (Sāgala) elsewhere.² It has been noted that this famous city, this great centre of trade, a capital of Menander and Mihirakula, should have left mounds and coins on a scale comparable with Takṣaśilā; whereas Sialkot is neither a notable archaeological site nor a great source of ancient coins.³ It is/^{by}no means certain that the name Sialkot is derived from Sākala or Sāgala. According to Whitehead there is no site in the Rechna Doab of sufficient prominence to suggest that it was Menander's official capital and principal mint; Sākala was probably a 'cold weather station' but his metropolis was in the uplands of the Kabul valley, probably at Kāpiśī⁴. Allan agrees with the view of Whitehead and remarks that Sialkot has not produced the coins of Menander one would expect from his capital.⁵ Moreover, if we are to attribute any

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1. Fleet, Actes du XIV^e Congrès International des Orientalistes, Algier 1905., pp. 164-76. It depends on certain identifications being correct and the distance involved in the route followed by Hsüan Tsang.
 2. Cunningham identified it with Sānglawāla Tiba, cf. Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, ed. by S.N.Majumdar Sastri, pp. 206 ff.
 3. Whitehead, NC. 1950, p. 212
 4. Ibid., loc.cit.
 5. Allan, Marshall's Taxila ., p. 863

significance to the description of Milinda's capital in the Pali text¹, it suggests that it should be sought in the hills rather than in the plains.² It seems to us that Sāgala of the Milindapañho and Sākala the town of the Madra country are not necessarily identical. The location of the Madra country is itself uncertain³ but, assuming that it is the Rechnā doab and the two Sākalas are the same, it is strange that Sāgala should be referred to as the city of the Yonakas, for at no stage of Indo-Greek history there is any justification for calling the land between the Chenāb and Rāvi 'Yonaka - deśa' or 'Yavana-dvīpa' as Paropamisadae or even Gandhāra and Udyāna might justifiably have been called; the archaeological evidence would, in our opinion, favour Udyāna as the right place. The two Bajaur hoards⁴ and the Yaghistan find⁵, all in the Swat region, consisted predominantly of the coins of Menander in almost mint condition, and the only inscription which mentions Menander has been found in the very same area⁶; the Swat relic vase of the Meridarkh Theodorus⁷ and the Bajaur seal of Theodamus⁸ are further indications pointing to the same conclusion. Even if Sāgala

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1. "Tam'yathānusūyate. Atthi Yonakānaṃ nānapuṭabhedanaṃ Sāgalannāma nagaram nadipabbatasobhitaṃ ramaṇīyabhūmippadesabhāgaṃ ", (Milindapañho ., p. 1)
2. Allan., op.cit., p. 863
3. V.S.Agrawala, IHQ. 1953 ., p. 17
4. NS. XL (1926-27) pp. 18-21 ; JNSI 1942 p. 61 , NC. 1947, pp. 141-5.
5. NC. 1923 ., p. 313
6. The Bajaur Casket Inscription, Ep. Ind., XXIV, pp. 1-8
7. Konow , CII , p. 1.
8. Ibid. , p. 6. A group of other small epigraphs e.g. Takṣaśilā copper plate inscription of a Meridarkh (p.4), Tirath, Swat and Saddo rock inscriptions (pp. 8,9), mentioned in CIII by Sten Konow, also belong to the same region.

proves to be Sialkot it does not seem to have been Menander's capital, for the Milindapañho states that Milinda repaired to Sāgala to meet Nāgasena just as the Ganges river goes down to the sea.¹ It is interesting to note in this connection Ptolemy's phrase Σάγαλα ἢ καὶ Εὐθυμέδεια.² Bayer's emendation of the name to Euthydemia³ has been copied by most writers⁴ to show that a city was founded in the name of Euthydemus by one of his successors in the Punjab, probably Demetrius. But Tarn has very ably shown that this is impossible and that the correction is unwarrantable.⁵ But whether or not Sāgala is the same as Euthydemia and is to be identified with Sialkot, we may suppose, on the basis of the circumstantial evidence we shall discuss below, that Menander ruled at least as far as the Ravi in the East; of course, there is evidence that he made raids even beyond the Rāvi and the Beas into the Jamuna valley and led an army in league with others to Pāṭaliputra, but there is nothing to prove his conquest of these areas.)

The relevant passages in the Western classical sources ~~xxx~~ already quoted are unanimous on Menander's conquests in India. According to Strabo,⁶ Apollodorus says that the conquests in India by the Bactrian Greeks were achieved mostly (μάλιστα) by Menander and

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1. "Milindo nāma so rājā Sāgalāyaṃ puruttame upagañcchi Nāgasenaṃ , Gaṅgā va yathā sāgaraṃ." The Milindapañho , p. 1
 2. Ptolemy. VII., 1.46
 3. Bayer , Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani., p. 84, 1925, p. 21
 4. Renou in his La géographie de Ptolémée 1^{er} Inde ^{part. 1, 1925, p. 21} has also accepted this reading; Macdonald expressed his doubts in CHI ., p. 446 , and so also Demiéville, op. cit., p. 46 n. 2.; but Altheim , I., p. 324 has again accepted it.
 5. Tarn., p. 247 f. and Appendix 13 p. 486 f.
 6. Strabo., XI. 11.1

he probably advanced beyond Hypanis¹ (Beas) as far as the river Imaus or Isamos² (usually identified either with the Jamuna or the Son)³.

(Indian literary sources provide evidence almost to the same effect. Patañjali who wrote his Mahābhāṣya not earlier than the middle of the 2nd. century B.C. has given two examples in illustration of the use of the imperfect tense to denote an event which has recently happened⁴ - "Arunad Yavanah Sāketam" (The Yavana was besieging Sāketa), and "Arunad Yavano Madhyamikām" (The Yavana was besieging Madhyamikā). If these grammatical examples give any historical information and are not mere school examples, they refer to a siege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā (near Chittor) by a Yavana king about the middle of the second century B.C. Similarly, Kālidāsa's drama Mālavikāgnimitra (Act V)⁵ preserves the memory of a conflict on the banks of the river Sindhu⁶ in which a Yavana

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1. Most of the historians of Alexander call the Beas, the Hyphasis, but one of them Aristobulus preferred Hypanis, the form used by Strabo, (Tarn, p. 144)
 2. In the Loeb edition 'Imaus' is preferred and so also in Teubner, but Tarn takes 'Isamos' (p. 144)
 3. Iomanes=Jamuna; Soamos= Son, cf. Tarn, p. 144. Raychoudhuri, PHAI, p. 380 fn. 4, identifies Isamos with Trisama, and Sircar with Iksumatī, (Prakrit: Ichchumai) a river of the Pañcala country' often identified with the modern Kālīnadi running through Kumaon, Rohilkhand and Kanauj region', AIU., p. 114
 4. "Parokṣe ca lokaviññate prayoktundarśanaviśāye." Kielhorn' edition II. p. 118-19
 5. "Sa Sindhordakṣiṇarodhasi carannaśvānikena Yavanena prārthitah. Tatah ubhayoh senayormahānāsītśanmardah Tatah parānparājitya Vasumitreṇa dhanvinā , prasahya hriyamāṇo me vājirājo nivartitah." Mālavikāgnimitra (cf. Bibliography), pp. 227-28
 6. Kālī Sindhu. cf. De la Vallée-Poussin, L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas et des barbares, Grecs, Scythes, Parthes et Yue-tchi. 191 p. 179. cf. also, Tarn, p. 228.
But some scholars believe that Sindhu mentioned in Mālavikāgnimitra is the Indus. cf. R.C. Majumdar, IHQ. 1925, pp. 91 ff., 214 ff.

force was defeated by Puṣyamitra's grandson Vasumitra during the reign of the former, who died in c. 148 B.C.)

(But the real story of the Yavana invasion becomes clear only on the analysis of the material contained in the ~~महकाव्य~~ historical section of the Gārgi Saṁhitā, the Yuga Purāṇa.¹ It tells us that the Pañcāla and Mathurā powers, together with the Yavanas who were known for their valour (suvikrāntāḥ), attacked Śāketa and marched on to possess Kusumadhvaja (Pāṭaliputra).² When they reached the mud-fortifications of Pāṭaliputra ^{the} people became confounded and there was disorder.³ The Pañcālas and the other kings who attacked Pāṭaliputra, destroyed the city.⁴ However, the invaders ~~quarrelled~~ quarrelled amongst themselves and as a result of the fierce fighting ~~in~~ between them the Yavanas could not remain in the Madhyadeśa.⁵)

These sources seem to refer to a single ~~an~~ expedition, which, on the basis of Patañjali, probably occurred about the middle of the 2nd. century B.C. ; and since at the time Puṣyamitra had a grandson old enough to lead a military expedition, the defeat of the Yavanas

1. Cf. Appendix II. pp. 27-30 where we give all the references and after a comparative study of the various readings of the different editions, we revise the relevant passages.

2. Tataḥ Śāketamākrāmya Pañcālā Māthurā(s)tathā ,
Yavanāśca suvikrāntāḥ prāpsyanti Kusumadhvajam.

3. Tataḥ Puṣpapure prāpte kardame prathite hite
Ākulā viśayāḥ sarve bhaviṣyanti na saṁśayaḥ .

The verses which follow describe in the conventional way the general disorder and confusion .

4. Pañcālā kṣāpayiṣyanti nagaram ye ca pāṛthivāḥ.

5. Madyadeśe na sthāsyanti Yavanā yuddhadurmadāḥ
Teṣāmanyonyasambhāvādbhaviṣyati na saṁśayaḥ
Ātmacakrotthitam ghoram yuddham paramadāruṇam.

on the Sindhu (Kāli Sindhu) must have taken place during the last years of the reign of Puṣyamitra (184-148 B.C.), and it is likely that the second Aśvamedha was performed by him during the very end of his reign when Vasumitra was old enough to take charge of the sacrificial horse.) We shall show later that during this period the Pañcālas and Mathurā were probably independent powers and coins indicate the presence of Mitra ~~xxxx~~ kings in these territories. Undoubtedly therefore this Yavana invasion took place about 150 B.C. and as we have seen from our chronology, the Yavana king in question can be none other than Menander. (There is a story in Kṣemendra, for whatever it is worth, in which, quite incidentally, Buddha prophesying to Indra says that a king Milinda would erect a stupa at Pāṭaligrāma.¹ Our attention has been drawn to two examples illustrating 'anadyatane lan' in a late grammatical treatise.² The examples are, 'Arunāmahendro Mathurā and 'Arunadyavanah Sāketam'. V.S.Agrawala suggests the reading 'menandro' in place of 'mahendro' and thus a reference to Menander and the Yavana invasion of the Madhyadeśa is sought. But if these examples illustrate the Imperfect Past and we follow the elucidation of this rule ~~(xxxxxx)~~ (parokṣe ca lokavijñāte prayoktudarśanaviśaye.....), it would be more appropriate to find in Mahendra a king of the Hindu Mediaeval period than to emend the text without any special reason ; it seems these are school examples , one referring to some contemporary event and the other giving the traditional example borrowed from Patañjali.

1. Rhys Davids, The Questions of Milinda, pt. 2. p. xvii.

2. IHQ. 1953, pp. 180-82 .(The reference is to Abhayānandī's Mahāvṛttī on Jainendra's Vyākaraṇa, edited by E.J.Lazarus, Banares, 1918, p.286)

(Recently some scholars have suggested that there were two Yavana invasions, one soon after Śāliśuka (c. 200 B.C.) and the other towards the end of Puṣyamitra's reign (c. 148 B.C.), and that the two horse - sacrifices of the latter signify his ~~x~~ double victory over the Greeks. Sircar believes that the first campaign of Puṣyamitra was against Demetrius I and second against Menander¹; but he has contradicted himself by saying that Menander seems to have ruled from 115-90 B.C.,² which is long after the death of Puṣyamitra.)

The evidence of the Yugapurāṇa , on which this theory is mainly based, mentions a certain Śāliśuka as an irreligious and wicked king of Pāṭaliputra, and his pious elder brother Vijaya, probably a governor of Sāketa.³ Since it is in the lines which follow this that the

1. AIU. p. 113

2. Ibid, loc. cit.

3. Yugapurāṇa, lines 89-93. Lines 92-93 are interpreted by Jayaswal (JBORS XIV., p. 110) and Dhruva (JBORS XVI p. 24) to refer to the Dharmavijaya of Śāliśuka. On the other hand Kern (The Brhat Sahita, pp. 36-37), Barua (Calcutta Review, April 1945, pp. 24-25) Mankad (Yugapurāṇa., p. 7 f.) take Vijaya a proper name. There is ~~x~~ definite mention of a brother of Śāliśuka (sa jyeṣṭhabhrātar-am) and it has rightly been shown by the above writers that Vijaya as a personal name gives better sense of the passage ~~and~~ than vijaya as 'conquest'.

he is said to be the son of ~~Ṛm~~ Ṛtukṣā Karma(?)¹ whereas in the Vāyū Purāṇa he succeeds Samprati.² His elder brother mentioned in it is not known from any other source and the passage concerned is not at all clear.³ In one of the Mss. of the Yugapurāṇa, which is incidentally the best preserved, two lines which refer to Śāliśuka are not found.⁴ The historicity of Śāliśuka is not based on solid grounds for the Purāṇic evidence is not unanimous about his place in the Mauryan genealogy.⁵ It seems to us that the writer of the Yugapurāṇa described the sequence of history with long leaps, making a selection of political events which he considered important. After Udāyi, the founder of Pāṭaliputra, he jumps to Śāliśuka, and after him he describes the military expedition in which the Pañcālas, the Māthuras and the Yavanas took part. If mere sequence in the description can denote that one event happened immediately after the other then we must maintain that Śāliśuka came to ^{the} throne soon after Udāyi. The interval

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1. cf. Jayaswal, op. cit., p. 410, where he suggests Ṛbhukṣāvarma as the name of Śāliśuka's father.
 2. The Vāyūpurāṇa text (Pargiter, The Dynasties of Kali Age, p. 29), puts him after Samprati but does not explicitly say that he was the son of Samprati as has been taken by Rapson, CHI., p. 511
 3. cp. Yugapurāṇa, lines 92-93, ~~████████████████████~~
 4. In Ms. 'C', cf. Mankad, Yugapurāṇa, p. 32 fn. 89
 5. Pargiter, op. cit., pp. 29, 70; CHI., p. 511

between the two latter events is more than 150 years, whereas the difference between Śāliśuka's reign and the date we suggest for the invasion, c. 150 B.C., is only 50 years. The evidence of the Yugapurāṇa has thus nothing to suggest an earlier Yavana invasion soon after Śāliśuka. Strangely enough it contains no mention of Puṣyamitra.

On the other hand the text of the Yugapurāṇa, as we have shown, gives an explicit clue as to the period and nature of the invasion of Pāṭaliputra in which the Yavanas took part, for it says that the Pāñcālas and the Māthuras were the other powers who attacked Śāketa and destroyed Pāṭaliputra. We must note that this literary information only confirms what was already known from the numismatic evidence.

Coins of kings whose names end in -Mitra are found in considerable number in Pāñcāla and Mathurā as well as in the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh¹; a coin of Indramitra was found in the Kumrahar excavations;² and the names of Brahmamitra and Indramitra also occur

1. BMC. Ancient India, pp. cviii-cxxi; JNSI, II, p. 115 f., 119 f., III, p. 79 f., IV, p. 17 f.; ~~some~~

The Pāñcāla coins bear the names of kings generally ending in -Mitra, and three symbols 𑀘 𑀓 𑀭 on the obverse; on the reverse there is a deity or the symbol of a deity on a kind of platform with railing in front and pillars or posts on either side. The name of the deity forms generally a component of the issuer's name. The Hindu coinage of Mathurā bears the name of kings ending generally either in Mitra or -Datta. The general type is Lakṣmi on the obverse and elephant, horse or tree-in-railing on the reverse.

2. ASR, 1912-13., pp. 79, 84-85. Besides Indramitra, two other coins of the Mitra type ~~also~~ were also found at Pāṭaliputra site.

in the Bodh Gayā railing inscriptions¹. Though attempts have been made to identify the Mitra kings of Pañcāla with the Śūngas,² Allan is right in strongly rejecting the identifications.³ They cannot be identified with the Śūngas. The dynasty was in existence before the Śūngas, if we date the accession of Puṣyamitra about 184 B.C., and survived not only the Śūngas but also the Kaṇvas, probably disappearing with the latter before the Śakas.⁴ Similarly, about the coins of the Hindu kings of Mathurā, Allan says that they "cover the period from the beginning of the second century to the middle of the first century B.C."⁵ These statements are further strengthened by the discovery of the extensive coinage of yet more kings of the Mitra dynasty of Pañcāla;⁶ the names of twenty-one kings ending in -Mitra (this excludes the Kausambi series) have so far been recovered from the coins. There

1. JRAS, 1908., p. 1096 ; ASR 1907-8., p. 40

2. Rivett-Carnac, JASB 1880, pp. 21-23; Jayaswal, JBORS 1917 p. 476 f. Raychaudhuri, PHAI, 6th. edn. p. 391 f.; De la Vallee Poussin, pp. 175-76

3. Allan, BMC. Ancient India., pp. cxx-cxxi . According to Cunningham the Mitra kings of Pancala formed one local dynasty, Coins of Ancient India., pp. 79-84

4. Allan, op. cit., p. cxxi; Altekar, JNSI. XIII. p. 145

5. Ibid., p. cxvi

6. After the publication of BMC. Ancient India, the following kings have been added to the list of Pancala Mitra dynasty : Vasusena, Vangapāla, Dāmagupta, Prajāpatimitra, Yajñapāla and Varuṇamitra. Two kings in the Carlleyle list (JASB XLIX p. 21 f.) Ayumitra and Anumitra may also be added. Cf. the latest paper giving these names, JNSI., XV. pp. 42-45

Powell-Price thought that Gomitra, Dridhamitra and Sūryamitra &c. of Mathura also belonged to Pañcāla (JUPHS XVI., p. 223)

is a remarkable uniformity of type of these coins and the kings who issued them almost certainly ~~must have~~ belong to one family; their history has yet to be reconstructed. They were certainly one of the most powerful successors of the Mauryas in the Madhyadeśa. Similarly, in Mathura no less than fifteen kings have to be accommodated after the Mauryas before the first Śaka ruled there in c. 50 B.C.¹ Surely, the evidence of the Yugapurāṇa shows that at one time the Pañcālas and the Māthuras made a bid to occupy Pāṭaliputra and in their attempt they took the help of the Yavanas. This period must be about 150 B.C. for by this time Menander, the Yavana king who is known to the Western classical sources to have advanced furthest in the east, had already gained power. Puṣyamitra had grown old, and his reign was near ~~a~~ its end. It is probable that, though he was able to control the two key-centres of Pāṭaliputra and Vidiśā in an effective manner, he was not so successful in other regions. There was trouble in Vidarbha, as is attested by the tradition preserved by Kālidāsa, and there may have been troubles elsewhere ~~xx~~ too. Towards the end of Puṣyamitra's reign

1. cf. Allan, BMC. Ancient India, pp. cviii-cxi;

it seems that the pent-up forces of disintegration were triumphant and several regional powers emerged in Madhyadeśa, among which were ~~by~~ the Pañcālas and the Māthuras. The reliance usually placed on the story of the Divyāvadāna¹ to show that Puṣyamitra ruled as far west as Sākala (Sialkot) is not justified on careful study of the whole context ; to us it seems evident that either there is some mistake in the name or the Sākala of Divyāvadāna must be a place not far from Pāṭaliputra.²

1. Divyāvadāna, edited by E.B.Cowell and R.A.Neil, Cambridge , 1886., pp. 433-34
2. The relevant ~~xxxx~~ portion of the story in Divyāvadāna is as follows: Puṣyamitra asked his ministers how he might obtain everlasting fame. The ministers advised him to follow the example of Asoka who had built 84,000 stupas and who had honoured the Buddhist Saṅgha. But Puṣyamitra found this beyond his means (maheśākhyo rājā Asoko babhūva anyah kascid upāya iti). Then his Brāhmaṇa Purohita advised him to do just the opposite of what Asoka did, that is to destroy the Stupas and monasteries. Accordingly Puṣyamitra first went to Kukkuṭārāma at Pāṭaliputra. After describing how he fared there, the story suddenly informs us that he reached Śākala and declared that whosoever would give him a monk's head would receive from him one hundred dīnāras, (sa yavacchākalam anuprāptah. tenābhīhitam. yo me śramaṇasīro dāsyati tasyāham dīnārasatam dāsyāmi.).

It is curious that the story takes Puṣyamitra to Sākala straight from Pāṭaliputra. Not only is the distance between the two considerable but also there is no evidence to show that Sākala was such a great centre of Buddhism in the Maurya or Śunga period, to merit a mention on a level with Pāṭaliputra, especially when several other places in the Madhyadeśa are omitted. It seems that the northern tradition, to which the Divyāvadāna belongs added Sākala to Pāṭaliputra to give local colour to the story. Just as according to other traditions the Buddha visited places such as Ceylon and the remote North-west where he could scarcely have gone, so events which may have served sectarian interests were probably transferred to suit local sentiments. We might suggest that Sākala ~~xxxxxx~~ in the text is a mistake for Śāketa, which was probably in the dominion of Puṣyamitra and which was a centre of Buddhist activity much nearer to Pāṭaliputra. Of course, we must also note that some scholars have rejected the story of Puṣyamitra's persecution of the Buddhists as described in the Divyāvadāna on grounds of the existence of Buddhist Stupas in Bharahut and Sānchi .

(Thus evidence of the Yugapurāṇa, Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya and Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra show that there was only one invasion in which the Yavanas participated.¹ We are expressly told by our sources that they had to retreat from Pāṭaliputra because of the mutual conflict between the allies and that the encounter on the banks of Sindhu also resulted in their defeat by Vasumitra.² The western classical sources do not record any lasting Yavana conquest of these regions ; when Strabo quotes Apollodorus, he himself notes in parenthesis his doubts whether Menander actually crossed the Hypanis to advance as far as the Imaus.³ Strabo's doubt may be because of the fact that he possibly knew something about the unsuccessful nature of the Yavana advance ~~xxxxxxxx~~ in the Madhyadeśa.)

1. But cf. N.N.Ghosh, Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, 1946., pp. 45 ff.

2. Patañjali's grammatical example referring to a siege of Madhyamikā may be connected with the ~~the~~ Yavana encounter on the banks of Kāli Sindhu. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

3. Strabo, XI.11.1. " ἔλγε καὶ τὸν Ὑπανίην διέβη πρὸς ἑω, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰμαίου προῆλθε ."

The numismatic evidence also confirms this literary information. The coins of Menandār - or for that matter of any other Yavana king - are not commonly found east of the Rāvī,¹ though a few have been reported from Saharanpur,² Sonapat,³ and Bundelkhand,⁴ and also in Kangra⁵ and Hoshiarpur districts;⁶ stray specimens of Menander's money are not unknown in some places of northern India, but no hoards of Indo-Greek coins come to light in these regions. Both Whitehead⁷ and Allan⁸ are strongly of opinion that such finds of the Yavana coins are not evidence of their rule in these districts but of the popularity of their money, and can easily be paralleled in other series of international currencies⁹. Further evidence of the commercial success of the Greek drachms is seen in the fact that they influenced the coinage of the Audumbaras and the Kunindas;¹⁰ we believe that it

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1. NC. 1923 pp. 305 f.; NC. 1940 p. 5 f.
 2. E. THOMAS, Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities, Vol. I, p. 208, n.1
 3. Cunningham, CASE. pp. 276-79
 4. Smith, Ind. Ant. XXXIII, p. 217
 5. ~~CASE~~ CASE pp. NC, 1873 p. 209
 6. NC. 1923., p. 342
 7. NC. 1923, p. 305-6
 8. Marshall's Taxila, II. pp. 862-63
 9. e.g. The find of Roman coins in India and the gold coins of Mamluks of Egypt found at Broach.
 10. Allan, BMC. Ancient India., pp. lxxxiv-lxxxv, pp. ci-ciii ; Marshall's Taxila. II. p. 862. For the coins cf. Allan, BMC. Ancient India , pl. XIV-XV, XXII-XXIII.

was trade and commerce that took the drachms of Menander and Apollodotus to Barygaza,¹ and that it was their commercial success that led the Western Kṣatrapas to imitate them. Allan has also shown that Mathurā was in the hands of the local kings until its conquest by Rajubula, who, like his son Ṣoḍāsa, copied the local type on his coins;² "had the Yavanas been already there, there would have been a break in the Hindu coinage earlier."³ The fact that the Śaka kings of Mathurā imitated the local type is very significant, for wherever the Śakas and the Pahlavas succeeded the Yavanas they borrowed the type of the latter for their coins. Tarn's remark that the last Greek king to rule in Mathurā itself was Strato I in conjunction with his grandson⁴ is based on Rapson, who actually says that "(Rajula) struck coins in imitation of those of Strato I and Strato II, the last of the Yavana kings to reign in the Eastern Punjab."⁵ Apart from the fact that Mathurā is not in the Punjab, "Eastern Punjab meant to Cunningham (Rapson's authority) what we should now call the North-eastern Punjab."⁶ Tarn's statement is, therefore, quite without foundation and the coins supply no evidence of Yavana rule in Mathurā. We must also note that such

1. cf. supra., pp. 108-9

2. BMC. Ancient India., pp. cxv-cxvi ; Marshall's Taxila, II., p. 862

3. Allan, Marshall's Taxila, II., loc.cit.

4. Tarn, p. 323

5. Rapson, CHI., p. 575

6. Allan, Marshall's Taxila, II., loc.cit.

hoards as those found in Saharanpur , Sonipat and Bundelkhand contain coins of several ~~Yxx~~ Yavana kings¹ who ruled after Menander and whose kingdoms must have been situated much further West than the regions where the coins have been discovered. If they are evidence of Menander's rule they also indicate that all the other kings in question governed the region, which is quite impossible .~~Thxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

Dr. Whitehead believes that the Indo-Greeks could have done no more than conduct cold-weather campaigns or make long distance raids.² There is some truth in his stress on the climatic factor, but it can ~~be~~ hardly be the whole reason for their failure to get any permanent control of the Gangā-Jamunā doab. Kings and peoples with ambitions of empire-building and the vigour and resource to carry out their plans do not brook any defiance from nature, especially when the political conditions are favourable. (There must have been other ~~xxxxxxxx~~ factors which prevented the Yavana power from permanently expanding beyond the Rāvi. The Yavana kings drew their strength not only from the Greek element in the population, but also from the Iranian peoples of the North-west; the further the Yavanas advanced from their "adopted homelands of Kabul and Gandhāra", the less effective these elements became, while the local inhabitants became more hostile. A more important cause of the Yavana failure in the Eastern Punjab and the

1. e.g. the Sonipat find contained coins of Menander, Strato, Antimachus II, Heliocles(II), Apollodotus, Antialcidas, Lysias, Philoxenus, Diomedes, Amyntas and Hermaeus.

2. NC. 1940., p. 92

But cf. contra., Marshall, Taxila, I., p. 32 fn. 4

Madhyadeśa can be found in the x fact that these areas had been more closely connected with the fabric of the Mauryan body-politic and for a longer duration than Gandhāra and other parts of the North West. The North West was independent of the Mauryan control not long after Asoka, whereas the dynasty continued to rule for about fifty years in the Madhyadeśa, until Br̥hadratha was killed by Puṣyamitra in Pāṭaliputra and other regional powers were established in other centres. These newly founded kingdoms were ~~established~~ probably more vigorous than the kingdom of the later Mauryas, whose degeneration led to their rise. (By the time the Yavanas reached the climax of their power in the North West, the areas East of the Rāvi were probably the scene of vigorous political activity.)

Throughout the second century B.C. and even as early as the last quarter of the third century, coins were issued by independent kings and peoples from the Rāvi eastwards to Magadha. In the Hoshiarpur District between the Beas and Satlaj ruled the Rājanyas;¹ south of them in Jalandhar with possible extensions in the Bari Doab between the Rāvi and Satlaj were the Trigartas.² Further east in the northernmost parts of Western Uttar Pradesh the region of Almora enjoyed freedom

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1. The coins of the Rājanya Janapada commonly with Lakṣmi on obverse and bull on reverse bear inscriptions either in Kharoṣṭhī or Brāhmī. Those with Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions may be put in the 2nd. century B.C. and those with Brāhmī in the 1st. century B.C.
BMC. Ancient India .,p. cxxiii
 2. The coins of the Trigarta Janapada bearing Brāhmī inscription are dated in "the first half of the second century B.C."
BMC. Ancient India .,p. cxxxix-cxi

and power.¹ South of Almora the Mitra kings of Pañcāla had their headquarters in Ahicchattra² and ruled the entire Rohilkhand Division; their power seems sometimes to have extended in the East to Basti and in the West even as far as ~~the xxxxxxxxxx~~ Magadha, and in the West probably as far as the territory later held by the Audumbaras with whose coins some of those of the Mitra kings have been found.³ South West in the Uttara Pradesh lay the kingdom of Mathurā.⁴ Then there were the territories of the Uddehikas⁵ and Kauśāmbī⁶, until we reach the borders of the Śunga kingdom in the East which may for some time have included Ayodhyā⁷. It is significant that the coinage of these people is not in the least influenced by the coin-types of the Yavanas, though later even the more powerful Gupta kings could not escape ~~in the beginning~~ the influence of the money of the Kuṣāṇas.

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1. The coins of the kings of Almora, belong to the "latter half of the second or first half of the second century B.C."
BMC. Ancient India., p. lxxx-lxxxi
 2. Ibid., p. lxxxvi
 3. Ibid., pp. cviii-cxvi
 4. The coins of the Uddehikas or Audehikas located in the 'middle country' by Varāhamihira, belong to the early second century B.C.
BMC. Ancient India., p. cxli
 5. The earliest inscribed coins of Kauśāmbī's local dynasty " cannot be later than the first half of the second century B.C. "
BMC. Ancient India., p. xcvi
 6. ^I It is known from the Ayodhyā Inscription that a descendent of Puṣya-mitra probably ruled there, cf. Sircar, Select Inscriptions., p. 96
Palaeographically this inscription is placed in the first century A.D.

Dr. Tarn thinks that the territories of the Audumbaras¹, Kuṇindas², Yaudheyas³ and Ārjunāyanas⁴ were included within the kingdom of Menander.⁵ He gives two reasons : the Kulindrene (Kuṇindas) of Ptolemy, who according to Tarn gives the names of the Greek provinces in India, and the other territories mentioned above, lay between Sāgala and Mathurā, and hence must have been included in the Greek kingdom; and these peoples started coining at the time which saw the end of Greek rule and the establishment of their independence. The ~~first~~ first point is based on Tarn's assumption that Mathurā was ruled by Menander which as we have shown is not correct. He further assumes that a group of Indian place-names ending in - $\eta\upsilon\eta$ described by Ptolemy, in a country where Greek had never before been used, ~~are~~ were actually the names of Yavana provinces going "well back into the second century B.C." and referring to the flourishing period of the Yavana rule whether before the death of Demetrius or during the reign of Menander;⁶ and he supposes that Ptolemy took this information from

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1. They occupied the area formed by the eastern part of the Kāngrā district, the Gurudāspur district and Hoshiarpur district, i.e. the valley of Beas, or perhaps the wider region between the upper Satlaj and Ravi. BMC. Ancient India, pp. lxxxiii-lxxxvii
 2. Cunningham says that Kuṇinda coins are found mainly between Ambālā and Saharanpur. They probably occupied a narrow strip of land at the foot of the Siwalik hills between the Jamunā and the Satlaj and the territory between the upper courses of the Beas and Satlaj. BMC. Ancient India, pp. ci-civ
 3. The evidence of coin finds shows that the Yaudheyas occupied an area which may be ~~roughly~~ roughly described as the Eastern Punjab. Cunningham thinks that their name has survived in that of the modern Johiyas who occupy both banks of Satlaj along the Bahawalpur frontier. Their seals and inscriptions have also come from Ludhiana and Bharatpur. BMC. Ancient India, pp. cxlvii-cliii
 4. The lands of the Ārjunāyanas probably lay within the triangle Delhi-Jaipur-Agra. BMC. Ancient India, pp. lxxxii-lxxxiii
 5. Tarn., pp. 238-40
 6. Ibid., pp. 230 ff.; pp. 442-45

the so-called 'Trogus' source'.¹ We are not competent to discuss the sources of Ptolemy in detail but it is well known that he obtained information from many contemporary travellers and traders as well as from earlier sources and so much of his evidence must apply to a later period. Tarn thinks that - $\eta\nu\eta$ names were used for Seleucid eparchies and hence denote the names of the provinces in the Yavana kingdom in India, which, according to him, was a Seleucid succession state. * Altheim on the other hand maintains that the place-names in - $\eta\nu\eta$ do not necessarily indicate Seleucid eparchies.² Even if it be admitted that the - $\eta\nu\eta$ ending was regularly used by the Seleucids to indicate their eparchies it does not follow that the Yavanas imitated them; if they did, why among the many Indian place-names preserved in Ptolemy are only four, Patalene, Surastrene, Soustane, and Kulindrene, imitations of the Seleucid terminology, whereas names like Goruaia, Gandaritis, Paucelaitis etc., which were also Greek provinces in India, do not end in - $\eta\nu\eta$. It is strange that the centres where the Yavanas ruled longest did not bear any such names, as against regions where the Yavana rule is only hypothetical. Ptolemy also mentions Ozene (Ujjain) but which is not included in the Yavana kingdom by Tarn and was ruled by Indian powers. In fact it is totally unsafe to derive any conclusion, other than philological, ~~from~~ these name-endings.

1. Tarn, pp. 231-33

2. Altheim, II. p. 73

As to the second point, it is true that ^{the} Audumbaras, Kunindas, Yaudheyas and Arjunāyanas did not start their coinage in the early second century B.C. But this does not prove that they were subordinates to the Yavanas, because the areas later occupied by these peoples were actually in the possession of the earlier Indian powers who, as we have shown, ruled there contemporaneously with the Yavanas almost throughout the second century B.C. The argument of Tarn, therefore, is anachronistic.

(The theory of the Yavana conquests in the Indus delta and Gujarat was based mainly on the references in Strabo and ^{the} Periplus. We have shown, however, that the evidence relating to Barygaza in the Periplus does not prove the rule of either Menander or Apollodotus.¹ To the statement of Whitehead that no coins have been found at Broach,² Tarn replied that "this might suggest that Barygaza was not Broach."³ If this is so, it really solves the problem, for the issue is not that the Greeks traded in Barygaza but that they ruled at Broach. The Periplus talks also of the traces of Alexander's expedition in Broach⁴ but no one believes that Alexander conquered Gujarat. The explanation that the story of Yavana conquest has been transferred to Alexander⁵ is hardly convincing. Why should the author of the Periplus, who had at

1. Supra., pp. 108-9

2. NC. 1940, p. 101, cf. also, supra., p. 109

3. Tarn., Addenda., p. 527

4. Periplus, Section. 41 (Schoff's translation., p. 39)

5. Tarn., p. 148

least the knowledge of the coins of Apollodotus and Menander, have been confused on this point ? The fact remains that there is no evidence that either Alexander or the Yavanas conquered Gujarat ; the account of the Periplus is just a sailor's story.

Strabo is not to be blamed for the statement that the Yavanas took possession of Patalene and the kingdoms of Saraostos and Sigerdis. He is simply quoting Apollodorus about whom he says that "(he) even contradicts what was known, saying that these kings subdued more of India than the Macedonians"¹ Apart from the fact that much reliance cannot be paid to this reference, we are not even sure of the location of these places.² If they denote the Indus delta, Kacch, and Kathiawar, the evidence which forbids us to believe in the story of the Yavana rule in Barygaza(Broach)³ will forbid us again to make any such conclusion here. We have no grounds for belief that either Demetrius I or Menander ruled in those regions. The theory that Theophila mentioned in Ptolemy was a Greek city⁴, the capital of the kingdom of Sigerdis,⁵

1. Strabo. XV. 1. -3

2. Patalene is generally placed in the Indus delta country, but Marcianus, 1.32 says that it was in Gedrosia(cf. Tarn,pp.94,260). Similarly, Barygaza also is placed in Gedrosia by Stephanus (cf. Tarn., p. 260); Tarn.,p. 148, takes Sigerdis to mean the country between the Indus delta and Saurashtra, including Kacch. But Altheim I.p. 324, puts this kingdom south of Surastrene because Pliny mentions a harbour Sigerus in those parts, he also cites the late P. Schwabel as making Sigerdis' kingdom Magadha ! Cf. also Tarn, Addenda.,p.527 ,p. 368. cf. Sohoni, JBS. 1949, pp.71ff.

3. Supra.,pp.103-9 . No coins of the Yavanas have ever been found in Sind and Kacch.

4. Tarn.,pp. 147,526

5. Ibid.,pp. 234-35

named after a supposed mother of Demetrius I and the hypothetical Apollodotus I¹, lacks proof; we have no grounds to believe that Demetrius I and Apollodotus were brothers born of the same mother and that her name was Theophila.

Some inscriptions found in the caves at Nasik, Junnar and Karle recording religious gifts by Yavana donors² have often been discussed in this connection. But they should not concern us here firstly because none of these places are in Gujarat and secondly because these inscriptions do not belong to the period of Yavana rule.³ Tarn also is now doubtful of his own early dating in his revised notes.⁴ The Yavanas mentioned in those inscriptions cannot be Indians for the simple reason that they call themselves Yavanas.⁵ Tarn's argument against this obvious conclusion, that "this is common sense; the conqueror does not adopt the nomenclature of the conquered"⁶, is out of place in ancient India. The Śakas and the Kuṣāṇas took Indian names and they were not "low-class" or "broken by circumstances" who "might occasionally be native!"⁷

1. Tarn., p. 147

2. Cf. a complete list of these inscriptions in IC. I. pp. 343-57, with notes by Stein, Otto.

3. Cf. for dates, O. Stein, op.cit., p. 351; Johnston, JRAS xxxv, 1941, p. 235

4. Tarn, Addenda., p. 531

5. Appendix I.

6. Tarn., p. 255

7. Ibid., pp. 254-55. We are unable to follow Tarn when he says that, "some Śakas did take Indian names..... but that is not in point" (p. 254 fn. 7)

The Greeks were cultured people who could discuss matters of religion with Indian monks and become converts to Buddhism; why should it be surprising if the Buddhist Yavana who made donations called himself Dhammayavana ?¹ These Yavanas do not seem to have come overland from North Western India; they may have been Alexandrian Greeks or even Romans who came with trade and ^e settled down in inland towns to serve perhaps as exporting agents of Indian goods.²

[We have hardly any evidence for the system of administration under ~~the~~ Menander. His kingdom must have been divided into provinces, perhaps under Strategoi, a title which was used in the Śaka-Pahlava period and which was probably borrowed by them from the Yavanas.³ That there were other administrative sub-divisions can be inferred from the existence of 'Meridarchs' the names of two of whom have come down to us from inscriptions - one Greek⁴ and the other Indian.⁵ Tarn notes that 'Meridarchs' are not heard of in the Seleucid empire and it is strange to meet them in India;⁶ we cannot define them more closely than as subordinate governors of parts of a satrapy.

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1. Karli Inscr. no. 10 (Ep. Ind. VII, pp 55 ff.) "Dhenukakatā Dhammayavanasa."
 2. Cf. also Warmington, The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India., p. 68
 3. Tarn. p. 241, but cf. Marshall, ~~ibid.~~, op. cit. I. p. 40. fn. 3.
 4. The Swat Relic vase Inscription of the Meridarch Theodorus (CII., p. 1) and The Taxila Meridarch Inscription, (CII., p. 4)
 5. Viyakamitra (?) of Bajaur Casket Inscription.
 6. Tarn., p. 242

It is very likely that Menander, having a busy career and wide dominion, appointed a few sub-kings. Antimachus II is generally thought to have been one of them.¹ Probably as a grandson of Antimachus I Theos,² he was thus related to Demetrius II and Menander with whom he is associated by the common use of the 'Gorgon's head' type^{2a}; we suggest that he was probably a brother of Menander.³ Certainly the abundant drachms of Antimachus II, which are of uniform type and style, testify to his importance; he must have been a prominent sub-king of Menander and a trusted general who probably helped him in some of his campaigns.⁴

Antimachus II did not strike tetradrachms and none of his coins bear portrait.⁵ His characteristic type is 'Nike and King on prancing horse'.⁶ It has been generally considered as a new type ~~and~~ started by Antimachus II⁷, but this is incorrect. A drachm^h of this type struck by Menander also exists⁸, which is another link between him and Antimachus II. (It is significant that not a single coin of his was found in

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1. Tarn, pp. 229-30; Marshall, Taxila., I., p. 34
 2. Tarn, pp. 78, 229, calls him a son of Antimachus I but considers him a contemporary of Menander; we have dated Menander later than he and hence keeping in view the type and style of Antimachus' coins it is more than likely that he was a grandson of Antimachus I Theos.
 - 2a. Antimachus II, PMC. Pl. VII, 573; Demetrius II, IMC. Pl. I. 12; Menander, PMC. Pl. VI. 496
 3. Antimachus II used the Nike type in common with Antimachus I and Menander, the Aegis with Gorgon's head in common with Demetrius II and Menander, and King on a prancing horse in common with Menander.
 4. Tarn, loc.cit.
 5. In this respect he resembles Apollodotus, but the latter struck coins with his portrait in the later part of his career, cf. infra. pp. 200-1
 6. PMC. Pl. VII. 557
 7. CHI, pp. 56-57; Tarn., p. 230, 316
 8. Cf. Appendix III and Plate. II. 6. It was illustrated in White King Sale Catalogue, Pl. X, 964, and attention was drawn by White Head in PMC. p. 63, but we do not find much notice of it. The coin illustrated in our Plate Appendix is from a Plaster of Paris cast in the BM.

Takṣasīlā excavations.¹ On the other hand the Bajaur hoards contain a good number of his coins² and the Mir Zakah Treasure has 133.³ It would seem from the distribution of his coins that Antimachus II governed the Swat valley and Northern Arachosia each for some time.⁴ Tarn called him a sub-king of Gandhāra, but Gandhāra is a big region and we prefer to confine him first to the Swat valley and later to Northern Arachosia to which province he may have been transferred towards the end of his career.⁵ All his monograms are those which are commonly found on Menander's coins. He minted coins out of all proportion to the status of a sub-king, which not only shows his prominence but also suggests that he may have outlived Menander to rule for a few ~~years~~ more years.

Polyxenus' and Epander seem to have been other sub-kings of Menander.⁶ Polyxenus' coins are very rare, and were first discovered by White King.⁷ On the silver money he has 'Diademed bust and Pallas'.⁸

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1. Marshall, op.cit. II. pp. 766-67
 2. Martin, NS. XL (1926-27) pp. 18-21., reported 152 coins in the First Bajaur Hoard. Haughton, NC. 1947 pp. 141-45, reported 17 out of 120 of coins examined by him in the Second Bajaur Hoard. cf. also, JNSI, 1942., p. 61
 3. Schlumberger, p. 78
 4. cf. infra., pp. 179-80 . A few odd coins of Antimachus II have come from the Kabul valley and Western Gandhāra to which no particular importance need be given.
 5. cf. infra., pp. 179-80
 6. Marshall, op.cit., I. p. 34
 7. The silver drachm which was in the collection of White King passed to the Punjab Museum. It was an object of controversy. E.J. Rapson doubted its authenticity but Whitehead considered them genuine and published it (PMC. p. 53, Pl. V. 371) . White King also possessed the copper piece (PMC. loc.cit.). But Rodgers published a copper in NC. 1896 pp. 268-69
 8. PMC. Pl. V. 371

The copper type presents a helmeted bust of Athena as on the copper money of Menander on the obverse, and an Aegis radiate with Gorgon's head on the reverse.¹ Polyxenus took on his coins the grandiloquent titles of Epiphanes and Soter.² It is difficult to say which province he ruled but certainly he can not be placed east of the Indus ; no coins of his have been noticed in Takṣaśilā.³ In the Mir Zakah Treasure there is one coin of Polyxenus⁴ ; his money is still very scarce. Haughton has listed Peshawar and Utmanzai as the provenance of his coins.⁵

The coinage of Epander is also rare. His silver money represents Pallas as on Menander's coins,⁶ while the copper bears 'Winged Nike and Humped bull'.⁷ Until recently his silver was known only in ^{the} drachm denomination; the first large piece in silver was published by Whitehead in 1947.⁸ Cunningham remarked that the coins of Epander do not help us in fixing his position either in time or place, but he thought that Epander must have ruled in the Upper Kabul Valley.⁹ Whitehead has proposed to place him in the latter half of the 2nd century B.C.¹⁰

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1. PMC. Pl. V. 372 .A coin of this type in beautiful condition is in the collection of Mr. Cuthbert King ,cf. NC. 1940,p.107 . The coin, which we have now been able to examine, reads Paliksinasa instead of Palisinasa in the Kharoṣṭhī legend.
 2. PMC. p. 53
 3. Marshall, op.cit. II,pp. 766-67 . Tarn,p. 317, placed him with the eastern group of kings, but Whitehead has shown that Polyxenus can be reasonably placed west of Indus, NC. 1940,p. 108
 4. Schlumberger, p.77
 5. NC. 1943.,p. 59
 6. PMC.,VI. 516 ; NC. 1947, Pl. I. 9
 7. PMC.,Pl. VI. 517
 8. NC. 1947,Pl. I.9 . It is in the collection of Mr. H. Shortt;there is another in General Haughton's.
 9. Cunningham, CASE .,p. 215
 10. NC. 1947.,p. 46

Menander's kingdom shows the Yavana power at its height. He ruled from the Kabul valley in the West to the Rāvī in the East, and from the Swat valley in the North to Northern Arachosia in the South. Cunningham thought that, encouraged by his success in India and regions south of the Hindu Kush, Menander planned to recover Bactria and that he probably helped Demetrius II the Seleucid king in his campaign against Parthia but died in the course of his march to the West.¹ Plutarch called Menander a Bactrian king,² and Strabo included him among the Bactrian Greeks.³ And now we know of the Attic tetradrachms of Menander.⁴ Cunningham's guess may, like many of his remarkable anticipations, prove to be true. }

(Dr. Tarn remarked that " the idea that Menander ever became a Buddhist in the sense of entering the Order may be dismissed at once"⁵. He is right . But when he says that the evidence of the Milindapañho does not indicate that he was a Buddhist, though he admits that " no one can prove that Menander was not a Buddhist ",⁶ we fail to agree. His argument that Menander's adoption of Athena , the one Greek deity who was practically never equated with anything Oriental", is against it, does not convince us. Kaniṣka, who was known to be a

1. Cunningham, CASE., pp. 270-73

2. Plutarch, Moralia., 821 D,E.

3. Strabo., XI.11.1

4. We have seen a photograph of an Attic tetradrachm of Menander ; the coin is in possession of a collector in Teheran. cf. for the description , Appendix III on Coin-types.

5. Tarn., p. 268

6. Ibid., pp. 268-69

Buddhist, used many non-Buddhist deities, and those of his coins which figure Buddha are vary rare.¹ In the time of Menander the Buddha image had almost certainly not evolved,² but it is probable that ^{the} 'Wheel' on some coins of Menander is connected with Buddhism.³ Tarn's deduction * that the 'Wheel' on the coins of Menander ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ means only that Menander proclaimed himself a 'Cakravartin'⁴ is not justified in the opinion of Allan, who thinks that " this 'Wheel' must have a common origin with the Wheel found on the Pañcanekame coins and the Wheel so familiar on Buddhist sculpture."⁵ Marshall has noted that "the Wheel was well established as a Buddhist symbol before the Pañcanekame coins were issued, and he thinks that there is no evidence to connect it specially with Taxila."⁶ The statement of Plutarch that when Menander died, " the cities celebrated his funeral as usual in other respects, but in respect to his remains they put forth rival claims and only with difficulty came to terms, agreeing that they should divide the ashes equally and go away and should erect monuments to him in all their cities,"⁷ is significant and reminds one of the Buddha's story. (It is also interesting to note that local tradition connects with Menander the origin of the most famous statue of Buddha in Indo-China,

1. BMC. ,p. lx. f.

2. But cf. for the Indo-Chinese tradition, Coedès, Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient., XXV (1925),p. 112; XXX (1931),p. 448

3. Marshall, op. cit., I.,pp. 33-34

4. Tarn.,p. 263

5. Allan, Marshall's Taxila., II.p. 859

6. Marshall, op.cit.,pp. 33-34

7. Moralia ., 821 D, E.

the statue of Buddha of the Emerald, which Menander's teacher Nāgasena materialised out of a magic emerald by supernatural power.¹ In fact if Menander is known to Indian tradition it is because of the Buddhist literature.² Further, we do not believe in the theory that Menander adopted the faith only nominally and as a matter of policy against Puṣyamitra to win over the Buddhists to his side.³ The overthrow of the Mauryan dynasty by Puṣyamitra was not a result of ~~an~~ Brahmanical reaction and there is no substantial evidence that he persecuted the Buddhists.⁴ We are unable to understand why the title Soter on his coins meant that he was 'the Saviour' of the Buddhists and of all who stood for the old Maurya power against the usurper Puṣyamitra,⁵ when we know how common was this epithet with the Yavana kings.

(Menander's enormous coinage attests both ~~to~~ the size of his kingdom and its flourishing commerce. Tarn suggests that, because Athena had been one of the three regular deities on Alexander's coinage, Menander adopted this device in order to emphasize that "in spite of the predominantly Indian character of his empire, he was still a Greek king"; Zeus and Heracles, the other two deities of ~~the~~ Alexander's coinage, had already been adopted by Antiochus IV and the Euthydemids respectively.⁶ But we must note that Pallas was used by Demetrius II

1. Coedès, loc.cit.,

2. For what it is worth there is also the evidence of Tārānātha, which seems to be based on a tradition independent of the Milindapañho. ~~This contains~~ a reference to king Minara in the land of the Tukhāras, ~~in Tārānātha, which~~ who is identified with Menander by Lassen.)

3. Tarn., p. 175 ; Marshall, op.cit., p. 33

4. Raychaudhuri, PHAI, 6th. edn. p. 388-89

5. Tarn., loc.cit. ; Marshall, loc.cit.

6. Ibid., pp.261-62

before Menander¹ and we have suggested earlier that Menander's adoption of Pallas links him with Demetrius II who used the same type; as do 'the elephant's head' and the head of Gorgon on his coins.² The significance of the rather striking menagerie of animals on his coins is obscure. It is strange, however, that Menander's coinage does not reveal much sympathy with local or Indian types.³ It seems that the gold coins with Pallas's head and owl but without any legend were struck by Menander,⁴ and were probably the last gold issues of the Yavana kings. His silver money consists predominantly of drachms; tetradrachms are comparatively few in number. The variety of his types can be studied on his copper coins rather than on his silver issues. The bust of a male figure, who may be Menander himself in the garb of Poseidon, on one of his copper coins is very striking;⁵ the representation of Menander in various poses on his silver money also reflects his vigorous career.⁶ He used two epithets, that of Soter and Dikaios, on his money. As the coins bearing the title Dikaios are rarer than those which bear Soter and as they represent Menander as older than on the Soter coins it has been supposed that they were struck towards the close of his reign.⁶ It is not unlikely that Dikaios, which is

1. Cf. Appendix III for coin-types, ~~and on the coin in the Plate App.~~

2. cf. Appendix III

3. Allan, Marshall's Taxila., II., p. 859

4. Whitehead, NC. 1940, pp. 105-6

5. Whitehead (NC. 1950 p. 215) does not believe this and suggests that it is Poseidon himself.

6. Tarn., p. 262

translated Dhramika in the Kharoṣṭhī legend, may be connected with his adoption of the Buddhist faith; but we must note that this title was also taken by his predecessor Agathocles and his contemporary Heliocles I.

(The fact that Menander appears on his coins both as a youth and as well advanced in middle age, shows that he must have had a long reign; his extensive coinage and the nature and extent of his achievements seem to confirm this. Probably, therefore, he died in ~~xxx155~~ c. 130 B.C. The Buddhist tradition would have us believe that he ~~ex~~ handed over his kingdom to his son and retired from the world,¹ but it is more likely that he died in camp, as Plutarch says,² and, on the evidence of coins, that he left only a minor son to succeed him.³

The greatness and popularity of Menander is attested not only by the overwhelming predominance of his coins over those of other Yavana kings but also by the survival of his name in tradition. Surely he was the greatest of the Yavana kings of India.

1. Tarn, pp. 266-67 ; Demiéville , Les versions chinoises du Milindapañha. Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient. Vol. XXIV. p. 26

2. Plutarch, *Moralia*, 821. D, E

3. cf. infra., pp. 176-79

CHAPTER V

THE DECLINE OF THE YAVANAS

The history of the Yavanas after the death of Eucratides and Menander is indeed difficult to reconstruct. The slender thread of literary evidence breaks off ; the tribes which destroyed the Yavana power are barely mentioned in the classical sources and not a single king of this period is referred to by name except Apollodotus in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.¹ The Purāṇas speak of eight Yavana kings but we do not know who they were and no details of their reigns are given.² But this does not mean that the period was a blank in the Yavana history. The large number of kings whose coins are the only testimonies of their achievements are to^{be} packed in a limited space and time. Certainties are few and surmises are many , and any arrangement is hypothetical and open to criticism. However, we shall try as best as we can to reconstruct the story from the materials at our disposal.

The new and remarkable discoveries of the Mir Zakah Treasure³ and the Kunduz Hoard, which have been mentioned in the earlier chapters,

1. Section 47. (Schoff ,The Periplus of The Erythraean Sea,p. 41); cf. also supra.,p. 118

2. Pargiter, The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age,pp. 44 ff.
"Yavanaṣṭau bhaviṣyanti saptāśītiṃ mahīmimāṃ. (Matsya Purāṇa)

3. The Mir Zakah Treasure does not seem to be a 'Hoard' in the normal numismatic sense, but its evidence will have to be used.

have solved some problems and created others, but the balance is, in our opinion, favourable to the historian although at the present stage a detailed study of these important finds is not possible. Much to our regret the Mir Zakah Treasure has not been described in detail by its discoverers but a very useful inventory of the coins is given us and this allows us to make some use of the material.¹ The importance of this Treasure can be appreciated from the fact that it contained more than 2500 Indo-Greek coins, more than 4000 Pahlava, over 5500 Punch-Marked, about a hundred Taxila, and a few other old Greek and Parthian coins. If the Mir Zakah Treasure is important for its ~~number~~ quantity, the Kunduz Hoard is of far-reaching significance for its quality. Our information of this unpublished hoard is due to the kindness of Mr. A.D. H. Bivar who has recently read papers on it in the meetings of the Royal Numismatic Society and who has supplied us with the necessary details and photographs. This hoard has given us, for the first time after two hundred years of numismatic research, the Attic tetradrachms of several Yavana kings² whose coins of this denomination were hitherto unknown, and it has also brought to light the largest silver coin known in any Greek series of coinage.³ It is fair to assume that Attic tetradrachms are evidence for a residuum of Yavana power north of the

1. Schlumberger, pp. 67-69.

2. Archebius, Philoxenus, Lysias, Theophilus and Hermaeus.

3. Five coins of two types struck by Amyntas. They are double decadrachms.

Hindu Kush even after Heliocles I , and the view that there was a simple division of Yavana Power between the house of Eucratides to the west of the Jhelum and that of Euthydemus to the east,¹ needs considerable revision. " We get an impression of the simultaneous rule of more than one king, of mutual antagonism, confusion , and civil war. The Yavanas seem to have been their own worst enemies"², until the Śakas, the Pahlavas and the Yüeh-chih (Kuṣāṇas) finally overthrew them in different regions at different times.

On the basis of the predominating type of their coins we shall divide the later Yavans kings into five groups :³

(I) Strato I, Apollodotus, Zoilus II, Dionysius, Apollophanes and Strato II. These kings use both Pallas and Apollo and are probably connected with Menander.

(II) Antimachus II, Philoxenus, Nicias and Hippostratus who are connected with each other by their common use of the 'King on prancing horse' type. This group also is probably connected with Menander,⁴ and may be traced to Antimachus I Theos. The first two groups thus seem to be allied. ⁵

(III) Zoilus I, Lysias and Theophilus use Heracles in common, and they may be remnants of the family of Euthydemus and Demetrius I

1. Rapson, CHI. p. 545

2. Whitehead, NC. 1923 p. 308

3. Cf. for coin-types of these kings in Appendix III. An exception has been made in case of Eucratides II and Diomedes who have been put in Group IV for obvious reasons discussed in relevant places.

4. A ~~xx~~ drachm of 'King on prancing horse' type struck by Menander is known. Cf. Plate Appendix, Pl. II.6

5. Cf. supra., pp. 118, 153

(IV) Eucratides II, Archebius, Heliocles II, Antialcidas , Diomedes, Amyntas, Telephus and Hermaeus ~~xxx~~ seem to belong to the family of Eucratides I. With the exception of Eucratides II and Diomedes , who use Apollo and Dioscuri respectively, the kings of this group are associated by their main type Zeus.

(V) Artemidorus and Peucolaus , who use Artemis on their coins seem to form a small group of their own.¹

We shall divide similarly the Yavana kingdom as it existed in c.130 B.C.² into seven regions :

1. North of the Hindu Kush or roughly the area known as Badakshan.
2. The Kabul valley or the Paraopamisadae.
3. Ghazni area or Northern Arachosia.
4. West of the Indus (including Peshawar and some tribal regions) or Western Gandhāra with Puṣkalāvātī as chief centre.
5. Swat valley or Udyāna.
6. East of the Indus or Takṣaśilā.
7. East of the Jhelum or the Jammu-Sialkot region.

These regional divisions are rather a rough indication than precise boundaries. We have now the advantage of knowing some key findspots of the coins of these Yavana kings in these regions. These

1. They may not belong to one family.

2. This is the date we have arrived at for the death of Menander and also of Eucratides II, cf. *infra.*, p. 174 the latter has been considered as the last to have control over Bactria.

key finds which are our indices are for Region I. the Kunduz hoard,¹ 2., the list compiled by Masson at the end of his three seasons collection²; 3., the Mir Zakah Treasure³; 4., The Mohmand find and the geographical list prepared by Haughton⁴; 5., the two Bajaur hoards⁵; 6. Marshall's list of Yavana coins found in the Taxila excavations;⁶ and 7., Haughton's list and the notes of Whitehead and Allan.⁷ Help has been taken from the accounts given by Cunningham,⁸ and we have also checked from Noe's Bibliography of Greek Coin-hoards and Hackin's map of the geographical distribution of the coins of the Yavana-Kuṣāṇa period.⁹ In cross-dividing the Yavana kings of the five groups into seven regional groups we have followed the following principle. As regards the Kunduz hoard we have ignored the number of coins of a particular king of this period since the very fact that they struck Attic tetradrachms indicates that they ruled over some districts north of the Hindu Kush. As regards the finds in other regions the number

1. Unpublished.

2. JASB. 1836 ., pp. 547 . In NC. 1923, p. 315, Whitehead noticed coins from a find which he ~~described~~ as coming from Kabul and Noe, op.cit., p. 141, followed ~~him~~. But Whitehead has remarked later that those coins were from Charsadda, cf. NC. 1947, pp. 41-42 ,

3. Schlumberger, pp. 73-83

4. NC. 1943., pp. 50-59

5. Martin, NS. XL (1926-27) pp. 18-21 ; Haughton, JNSI. 1942, p. 61, NC. 1947 , pp. 141-45

6. Marshall, Taxila, II., pp. 766-67

7. NC. 1943, p. 51, NC. 1923 , p. 314 ; BMC.Ancient India, p. LXXXIV

8. CASE.

9. JA. 1935., pp. 287-92

of coins of a given king can not be ignored ; therefore we assumed a minimum according to the strength of the hoard, and the kings whose coins are below that minimum are not taken into account, e.g. in the Mir Zakah Treasure of over 2500 coins the kings whose coins number below ten are not counted. Exception has been made in the case of ephemeral kings such as Telephus, Theophilus, Artemidorus, Peucoalus etc., whose coins are very scarce.

The following Chart forms the basis of our reconstruction in this and the next chapter:

REGIONAL GROUPS	G R O U P S O F K I N G S				
	1	2	3	4	5
I NORTH OF THE HINDU KUSH	X	PHILOXENUS	LYSIAS THEOPHILUS	EUCRATIDES II ARCHEBIUS ANTIALCIDAS AMYNTAS * HERMAEUS	X
II THE KABUL VALLEY	APOLLODOTUS	PHILOXENUS	LYSIAS	ARCHEBIUS HELIOCLES II ANTIALCIDAS AMYNTAS HERMAEUS	PEUCOLAUS
III GHAZNI REGION	STRATO I APOLLODOTUS	ANTIMACHUS II PHILOXENUS	ZOILUS I LYSIAS	ARCHEBIUS ANTIALCIDAS	X
IV WESTERN GANDHĀRA	STRATO I APOLLODOTUS	ANTIMACHUS II PHILOXENUS NICIAS HIPPOSTRATUS	THEOPHILUS	ANTIALCIDAS DIOMEDES AMYNTAS HERMAEUS	ARTEMIDORUS
V THE SWAT VALLEY	APOLLODOTUS	ANTIMACHUS II	ZOILUS I	X	X
VI TAKṢAŚILĀ	STRATO I APOLLODOTUS	PHILOXENUS HIPPOSTRATUS	X	ANTIALCIDAS TELEPHUS HERMAEUS	X
VII JAMMU- SIALKOT AREA	STRATO I APOLLODOTUS ZOILUS II DIONYSUS APOLLOPHANES STRATO II	X	X	X	X
* No attic tetradrachms but five Double Deca- drachms found in the Kunduz hoard.					

We have shown that Heliocles I ultimately acquired control of Bactria after the death of Eucratides, and that the regions south of the Hindu Kush passed to Menander.¹ The extent of Menander's kingdom makes any extension of Heliocles I's control south of the Hindu Kush well nigh impossible. We have no evidence to show that he held Seistan and Southern Arachosia. Marshall believes that Zeus type found on the silver coins of the Scytho-Paethian kings is copied from coins of Heliocles and hence that the latter must have ~~reigned~~ regained Arachosia and Seistan;² and earlier scholars maintained that he reconquered parts of the Paropamisadae and Gandhāra from the successors of Menander.³ But these views must be revised in the light of the discovery of the existence of two Heliocles', one who struck only monolingual coins and the other who issued bilingual.⁴ Gardner was struck by the contrast between the portraits on the two types of coin and tentatively suggested the existence of a second Heliocles,⁵ while in the WhiteKing Sale Catalogue the types are actually referred to as of Heliocles I and Heliocles II.⁶ Tarn also entertained the possibility of two kings of the same name,⁷ but Whitehead, who has been advised that the two portraits are anatomically different, has shown that the portrait of the monolingual Heliocles must be distinguished from that of the bilingual⁸. We shall

1. Supra., pp. 115, 117 ff.

2. Taxila, II. , p. 779

3. Rapson, CHI., pp. 536, 553

4. Whitehead, NC. 1950., pp. 211-12

5. BMC., p. 23, Pl. VII. 5-8, cp. Pl. VII. 1 and 5

6. Nos. 43-45 (Heliocles I) and Nos. 46-49 (Heliocles II)

7. Tarn., p. 272

8. Whitehead, op. cit. pp. 211-12, 214. Pl. XII. 7

refer to the Heliocles of the bilingual coins later ; here it will suffice to say that the hypothesis of two Heliocles simplifies the problems of the period, by avoiding the difficulty of postulating a Heliocles ruling to the south of the Hindu Kush, in the Kabul valley and in Gandhāra, almost contemporaneously with Menander. The fact, that no bilingual coins of Eucratides II and Heliocles I are attested, indicates that, with the death of Eucratides I and the rise of Menander, the successors of the former lost all their possessions south of the Hindu Kush. The overstriker of the money of Strato and of Strato and Agathocleia would then be Heliocles II.¹

It is likely, as Tarn has said, that the outlying provinces of the Bactrian kingdom in Iran were lost, and the Parthian frontier was again the Arius, and , though there is no definite evidence, Mithridates I presumably retained Herat, since otherwise he would have had no through communication between Parthia and Seistan.² Thus the kingdom of Heliocles I included besides Bactria proper only the provinces of Badakshan in the east and Sogdiana in the north. The coins of Heliocles I generally come from the areas north of the Hindu Kush and in the Kunduz find there are 204 coins of Heliocles I out of a total of 610. His coins were the latest among those copied by the nomad tribes of the north and it is therefore probable that he was the last Yavana to rule

1. It is the bilingual copper coins ~~which are found overstruck on Strato I~~ of Heliocles which are found overstruck on Strato I . ~~cf. Antiquities of the East~~

2. Tarn., p. 270

over regions north of the Oxus. The usual view that he was the last to rule over Bactria¹ must be revised because, firstly, the Attic tetradrachms of several later Yavana kings have now been found;² and secondly, the Chinese evidence, which will be discussed in the next chapter, clearly indicates that Bactria, south of the Oxus, was not occupied by the nomads all at once. The overthrow of the Yavanas in Bactria actually followed an earlier occupation of Sogdiana or the regions north of the Oxus, where the conquering tribes found the money of ~~of~~ Heliocles I and copied it. The Yueh-chih did not ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ effect complete political subjugation of Bactria, south of Oxus, until much after 129-28 B.C.³

Marshall, who believes in only one Heliocles, maintained that the reign of Heliocles could not have been a long one, "judging by the comparative rarity of his coins."⁴ But the coins of Heliocles I are perhaps not as rare as Marshall thinks and if the Kunduz hoard is any indication, we may assign him a rule of ten- to fifteen years; probably he died in c. 140 B.C. About the same time the Seleucid Demetrius II made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer Parthia.⁵ This

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1. Macdonald, CHI., 461, "He is the last king of India whose money is found to the north of the Hindu Kush." But cf. also Tarn., p. 273, who thinks that Antialcidas may for a time have had some connexion with Bactria.
 2. The coins of the following later Yavana kings are in the Kunduz hoard: Eucratides II, Heliocles I, Lysias, Antialcidas, Archæbius, Theophilus, Philoxenus, Amyntas, Hermaeus.
 3. cf. infra., pp. 221-24
 4. Taxila, I., p. 35
 5. Debevoise, A Political History of Parthia, pp. 22-25

was also the time by which Menander had reached the height of his power , and , therefore, if we believe the evidence of Plutarch, who called him a king of Bactria, we may suppose that at the death of Heliocles I, Menander tried to extend his arms to the north of the Hindu Kush.¹

Coins of Eucratides II seems to be more closely related to those of Heliocles I than to those of Eucratides I.² He may well have been a son and successor of Heliocles I. Two types of his coins are known:³ one with a youthful head and bearing the simple legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ , and the other with the bust of a sickly man approaching middle age and bearing the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ ; on the reverse of both these issues appears 'Apollo standing' with bow and arrow" If he ruled for about ten years his reign must have ended in C. 130 B.C. He ruled in Bactria proper and Badakshan; in the Kunduz hoard there are 130 coins of Eucratides II. There is no evidence that he ruled south of the Hindu Kush, and this is impossible in view of the contemporary rule of Menander in those areas. Probably it was ~~during the~~ ~~reign~~ of Eucratides II that the Scythians of the Jaxartes-Oxus area being pressed by the Yüeh-chih, crossed the Oxus , occupied Bactria proper,⁴ and became a source of trouble to the Parthians in the reign

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1. Supra., pp 123 , 156 . An Attic tetradrachm of Menander has now been found.
 2. Supra., p. 113
 3. BMC. Pl. V. 4, NC. 1947 pl. I.1 ; also Plate Appendix , Pl. II.5
 4. Infra. . p. 225

of Artabanus II and Phraates II.¹ Henceforward the kingdom of the Yavanas north of the Hindu Kush was confined ~~mainly~~ to Badakshan, where they probably controlled some hill enclaves until their final subversion by the Yüeh-chih.

We have distinguished above the bilingual coins of Heliocles as the issues of Heliocles II. There is no doubt that the portraits of Heliocles II on his coins are of a man well advanced in middle age and considerably older than the latest portraits of Eucratides II.² It is therefore unlikely that Heliocles II was a son of Eucratides II. He may have been a son of Heliocles I and a brother of Eucratides II. The coins of Heliocles II, to the best of our knowledge, are not found north of the Hindu Kush; in the Kunduz hoard, whereas the coins of Archebius and Antialcidas are represented by a few specimens, Heliocles II is absent altogether. It seems that Eucratides II was succeeded by ^{who may have been his son, and} a king, who was later superseded by Heliocles II, ~~who may have been a son of Eucratides II~~; ^{possibly} Heliocles II was therefore the uncle of the king whom he superseded. This would explain the comparatively aged portrait of Heliocles II. Two kings, Archebius and Heliocles II, overstruck the money of Strato³ and hence both may have been connected in time and place. We suppose that Archebius was the king who intervened between

1. Debevoise, op.cit., pp. 35 ff., 58 ff. ; cf. infra., pp. 22-5-26

2. Cp. Plate Appendix., Pl. III. 13-14 and II. 5, NC 1947, Pl. I. 1.

3. For the overstrike of Archebius cf. Marshall, Taxila, II, p. 801, and Whitehead in his Commentary on RUC, p. 836
For the overstrike of Heliocles cf. Rapson, CHI, p. 553 and supra., p. 169

Eucratides II and Heliocles II. Rapson, however, held that Archebius was a successor of Antialcidas and that after his reign the region of Takṣaśilā passed from the Yavanas to the Śakas.¹ His reason was that the type 'pilei' of the coins of Eucratides I, and Antialcidas is continued by Archebius, after whose reign it is no longer found on Yavana coins, ~~but appears again on the small silver coins~~ but appears again on the small silver coins of Liaka Kusulaka, the satrap of Cukṣa (in the neighbourhood of Takṣaśilā) under Maues.² This reason was taken as conclusive by Tarn.³ But it is far from being so. There is no ground to believe that the 'pilei' of the Dioscuri was a type of Takṣaśilā,⁴ and adoption of this type ~~is by no means an~~ evidence that Archebius ruled there. In the excavations of Takṣaśilā not more than 7 coins of Archebius are reported, out of which 3 are of 'elephant and owl' type and 1 of 'Nike and owl'.⁵ Marshall, who believed that the 'pilei' on the coins of Archebius point to his having ruled at Takṣaśilā, did not think that they afford any indication of the date of his rule. Had Liaka Kusulaka imitated the coins of Archebius there would perhaps ^{have} been some reason for concluding that he came immediately after him, but the coins which Liaka Kusulaka copied were those of Eucratides I, not of Archebius.⁶ On the other hand, as we show later,

1. CHI., p. 559

2. Ibid., loc.cit.

3. Tarn., p. 315

4. Whitehead, NC. 1940., p. 96

5. Marshall, Taxila., II. pp. 766-67

6. Ibid., I., p. 39

we have reason to believe that the Yavana kings whom the Śaka-Pahlava kings succeeded in these regions were mostly probably Apollodotus and Hippostratus.¹ Neither on the basis of monograms nor on the grounds of quality and style of engraving is it safe to date Archebius near the time of the Śaka conquest of Takṣaśilā.² Cunningham believed Heliocles and Archebius to be father and son;³ he did not distinguish two Heliocles' and so naturally thought Heliocles to be the predecessor.

It seems that when Archebius succeeded Eucratides II, in c. 130 B.C., not long after his accession, being deprived of Bactria proper, he extended his power to ~~thax~~ the south of the Hindu Kush and gained control of the Kabul and Ghazni region. He was successful in this scheme because Menander had just died and, as we shall ^{see} below, there was some weakening of the southern Yavana ~~power~~ kingdom owing to the reign of a minor king. Although none of his coins were found at Begram by Masson, Cunningham testifies that the majority of his coins came from Kabul.⁴ ~~and which were found in the Kabul region in 1917.~~ In the Mir Zakah Treasure, also, there are about one hundred coins of Archebius.⁵ It would ~~also~~ appear that he may have for some time controlled parts of the Western Gandhāra but it is doubtful whether he advanced as far as Takṣaśilā. Besides his normal

1. *Infra.*, p. ^{232,} 242.

2. Cf. also, Marshall, *op.cit.*, I., p. 39

3. *CASE* ., p. 242

4. *Ibid.*, p. 241

5. *Num. Chron.* 1923, p. 315

5. Schlumberger., p. 76

Zeus type, Archebius struck copper money bearing Victory, an owl, an elephant and the Pilei ;¹ the owl was also found on Menander's money². His portraits do not show very marked differences and he may have ruled for about seven or eight years.

Heliocles II, the uncle of Archebius, seems to have succeeded him and he, too, overstruck the money of Strato and of Strato and Agathocleia. His coins are distributed over almost the same areas^{as those of Archebius}, except north of the Hindu Kush, ~~as those of Archebius~~ but perhaps they are not so numerous as those of the latter. In the Mir Zakah treasure there are only nine coins and in the Takṣaśilā excavations only seven were found. On the other hand his coins are comparatively numerous in Western Gandhāra.³ His silver coin-type is Zeus, generally standing with a ⌘ thunderbolt in his hand. Among the copper coin-types, for the first time in the Yavana coinage we find the 'elephant and bull' together,⁴ a type which became very popular with Apollodotus and was continued by the Śaka-Pahlava kings.⁵ Cunningham has noted that probably a coin of Philoxenus also was overstruck by Heliocles,⁶ obviously Heliocles II. This would be quite in keeping with the position of Philoxenus in our scheme; Heliocles II and Philoxenus were contemporaries. Since Heliocles II came to the throne late in his life and his features are

1. PMC., pl. IV. 225, 230 ; BMC. Pl. IX. 6, 7

2. PMC., Pl. VI. 480, NC. 1940, Pl. VIII.1, NC. 1947, Pl. I.4

3. Cf. Haughton's list, NC. 1943 p. 56

4. PMC. III. 149

5. cf. infra., p. 232, also supra., p. 104

6. CASE., p. 189. Unfortunately not illustrated.

almost unchanging on his coins, he does not seem to have ruled for long; the rule of both Archebius and Heliocles II ^{not} may/have covered more than fifteen years and so Heliocles II probably died in c. 115 B.C. But before we turn to his successor Antialcidas we must see what happened in the kingdom of Menander after the latter's death.

The general view that Agathocleia was the queen of Menander and that Strato was their son is based on coins.¹ A study of their money² shows that Strato was a minor son when Menander died and so Agathocleia probably ruled as regent. She struck coins with her own portrait, which, according to Haughton, had a very 'Indian' look about it both as regards features, style of hairdressing and even in what is visible of the dress. She took the title ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗ ΘΕΟΤΡΩΟΥ on the obverse; the reverse has 'a warrior fully armed to r.' with the Prakrit legend in Kharoṣṭhī giving the name of Strato. The curious epithet ΘΕΟΤΡΩΟΥ used by Agathocleia is unique.³ Prinsep had remarked that it must have been coined on purpose for the queen-mother in allusion to her royal offspring.⁴ Rapson's view that this title connects her with Euthydemus Theos⁵ is not justified, because Euthydemus

1. Supra., p. 118

2. General Haughton has compiled a list of the coinage of Strato and of Strato and Agathocleia, cf. NC. 1948 pp. 134-41. But add to that, NC. 1950, p. 216

3. NC. 1950, p. 216. Cf. Liddell and Scott (1925-40) vol. II, Addenda and Corrigenda., p. 2076.

In 1870 Lassen discovered that Θεότροπος occurs in the Byzantine eighth century author Heliodorus (NC. 1870 p. 218). The word occurs there in a philosophical passage with its normal meaning of 'god-like', 'divine'. Cf. Buck and Peterson, A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives, Chicago University Press, 1944, p. 393

4. JASB. 1836, p. 721

5. Corolla Numismatica., p. 249

did not take this epithet himself, but was given it after his death on the Commemorative medals of Agathocles¹. We agree with Prinsep² that there was some oriental influence in the adoption of this title because it must be admitted that ~~itis~~ is not a normal Greek word of the period. Tetradrachms of this type are not yet known and the drachms are also rare; probably the direct regency of Agathocleia did not last long. It must have been followed by an intermediate period when coins bearing the conjugate busts of Agathocleia and the boy Strato and the names of both were issued; from the legends, however, Agathocleia dropped her claim to be 'queen', merely adding her name after that of Strato on the obverse or sometimes on both sides.³ Probably this indicates that Strato was approaching an age when he might be impatient, or others impatient for him, to assume complete power and authority, but the fact that Agathocleia's portrait still appears on the obverse may indicate that he had not yet assumed full powers.⁴ The coins of this type are also rare and thus it seems that this state of affairs, too, did not last for more than a year or two, either because Agathocleia died suddenly or because she resigned in favour of her son, who was now of age.

Although Strato's money, broadly speaking, consists of only

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1. Supra., pp. 37-39
 2. JASB ., p. 1836 ., p. 721
 3. NC. 1948 , Pl. VIII. 2 , NC. 1950 ., p. 215
 4. Haughton., op.cit., p. 137

one type, it is remarkable for the variety of its legends and the variations and combinations of the main type.¹ His coins are not as numerous as one would expect from the long reign which is so evident from the internal evidence of his coins, but they are widely spread² and this probably indicates that at least for a time he reigned over the larger part of Menander's dominions. Though Strato's coins prove that his reign was an exceptionally long and adventurous one, ~~certainly~~ we have certainly no reason to think that his ~~reign~~ lasted continuously for seventy years as was originally supposed by Rapson.³ But Rapson admitted that Strato's reign might be reduced if Gardner's suggestion of the possibility of two Heliocles' was accepted.⁴ No doubt Strato lived to ^{be} at least seventy if not seventy-five, but his was not a continuous reign, for his coinage indicates the vicissitudes of his career. To the best of our knowledge we do not find on his ~~monetary~~ money a portrait which may link the middle-aged king of his Epiphanes series with the aged portraits on the crude drachms and on the joint issues of Strato I and Strato II.⁵ We believe therefore that Strato ruled for about thirty-five years, including the regency of Agathocleia ~~also~~, after which he was superseded ~~by~~ for about fifteen years by other kings, ultimately to re-establish his power in a very limited region of the easternmost part of his kingdom, when he probably took advantage

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1. Haughton, op.cit., pp. 138-41
 2. Cf. Chart supra., p. 167
 3. Corolla Numismatica., pp. 245 ff.

4. Ibid. loc.cit. fn. 1

5. Cp. Plate Appendix, Pl. III, 1-11
Enlarged prints of the old age busts are illustrated for better comparison.







of the discomfiture of his adversaries at the hands of the newly ^{arrived} ~~came~~ Śakas. We may guess that in the re-establishment of his power he was helped by Maues, who perhaps supported the cause of Strato against Apollodotus.¹ This phase of Strato's reign may have lasted for about five years; thus / the first period of Strato's reign was from c. 130 to 95 B.C., and the second from c. 80 to 75 B.C.

The unsettled state of affairs in Menander's realm after his death , the rule of a woman and the existence of a minor son perhaps impatient to rule, may well have led to the break-up of the kingdom by internal dissension and attacks from without. Thus the period of Agathocleia's regency and the beginning of Strato's own reign may have seen some defections and loss of territory. The existence of several ~~k~~ kings probably of other families at about the same time shows with practical certainty that Strato's kingdom gradually diminished even in the first period of his reign, ~~and that Strato's kingdom was not~~ ~~changed by his death.~~ To this period we have already assigned the extension of the power of Archebius and Heliocles II into his territories;² several other kings also must have been the contemporaries of his exceptionally long but chequered reign.

Among the sub-kings of Menander it seems more than likely that Antimachus II Nicephorus³ outlived his master, since he struck a ~~large~~ large number of coins, which seem almost out of all proportion to

1. Infra., p 233
 2. Supra., pp. 172 ff
 3. Supra., pp. 153-54

his position ; this is not so in the case of other sub-kings whom we have supposed earlier . Perhaps the able and vigorous sub-king would not submit to the regency of Agathocleia and declared himself independent in the distant province of Northern Arachosia, where he was probably transferred by the Queen-mother from the Swat valley, which was so close to the centre of Strato's kingdom, and where he would have been dangerous in the eyes of Agathocleia. This explains why his coins , which are found in considerable number in both the Bajaur hoards¹, are also found in good number in the Mir Zakah Treasure.² They are not generally found in the Kabul valley but some are reported from near Charsadda; this may indicate an extension of his power in Western Gandhāra. But a man who had already spent the prime of his life under Menander, probably did not enjoy his new status for long, and so he may have died c. 125 B.C. ; unfortunately there are no portraits to check his age.

Philoxenus, Nicias and Hippostratus form one group with Antimachus II because of their distinctive coin-type.³ They are described in the above order both by Gardner⁴ and Whitehead⁵; this seems to be correct. Antimachus II and Philoxenus are associated by frequent use of common monograms,    and Philoxenus and Nicias by    . And Nicias is further connected with Hippostratus by the common

1. NS. XL (1926-27) pp. 18-21 ; NC 1947 pp. 141-5

2. Schlumberger, p. 78

3. "King on horse", cf. Appendix III for the Coin-types. It is interesting to find a coin of Menander with this 'king on horse' type which has been ignored (cf. Plate Appendix., Pl. II.6.). This coin-type will link the group of kings headed by Antimachus II to Menander.

4. BMC ., pp. 55-60 , Pl. XIII, 3, 6-8, 11, XIV, 2-5

5. PMC ., pp. 70-77, Pl. VII, 557, 576-78, 602, VIII 610, 614-17

use of another coin type, the dolphin.¹ Undoubtedly, Hippostratus seems to have been the last in this group of kings because his coins were overstruck by the Śaka and Pahlava kings and some of his monograms immediately link him with Azes.² Some scholars have suggested that Nicias preceded Hippostratus on the basis of the palaeography of the coin-legends, for the former uses both the square and round forms of the Greek letters while the latter uses only/square.³ Though from this kind of evidence we may be justified in deducing the sequence of two kings and place some kings in roughly the same period or in a particular region, we shall show later that no conclusion ~~can be safely~~ on the dating of the Yavana kings can be safely ~~made~~ on the basis of ~~their~~ palaeographical differences alone.⁴

We do not know whether Philoxenus immediately succeeded Antimachus II in Northern Arachosia for this was also the time when, as we have shown above, Archebius had occupied Kabul and Ghazni region and possibly parts of Western Gandhāra. But we have also seen that, whereas both Archebius and Heliocles II overstruck the money of Strato, only the latter overstruck a coin which was probably of Philoxenus.⁵ So Philoxenus can not be later than Heliocles II; they may have been contemporaries and overlapped each other in time and ~~place~~ place. The

1. Cf. Appendix III for coin-types.

2. Infra., p. 242

3. Tarn., p. 327; Bachhofer, JAOS, 1941 pp. 236-37, but he thought that Nicias succeeded Hippostratus.
Whitehead, NC. 1950 p. 209

4. Infra., pp. 251 ff.

5. Cunningham, CASE, p. 199; cf. supra., 175

fact that the coins of Heliocles II are comparatively rare in the Mir Zakah hoard as against those of Philoxenus may indicate that in ~~the~~ Northern Arachosia, Archebius was not succeeded by his uncle Heliocles II but by Philoxenus. This would imply that Archebius, who had taken possession of that region from Antimachus II, had later to abandon it to Philoxenus, a successor of Antimachus II. The money of Philoxenus is, however, found over a large area and its distribution indicates that at times he must have controlled parts of the Kabul valley, Western Gandhāra, and Takṣaśilā also, though perhaps for a very short time. The discovery of the Attic tetradrachms of Philoxenus is ^a further pointer to his struggle with Archebius and Heliocles II, for it is significant that no attic tetradrachms of Heliocles II has been reported. It is possible that Philoxenus overthrew Archebius but was himself later overthrown by Heliocles II. This phase seems to cover roughly one generation and Philoxenus must have died c. 115; thus, in the period 130-115 we have placed Archebius and ~~A~~ Heliocles II on the one hand and Antimachus II and Philoxenus on the other in both of which groups one of the kings was old enough at the time of his accession to rule for a long period.

Nicias and Hippostratus will be discussed later in the appropriate places¹, for it is difficult to place them in the immediately succeeding generation of family struggles, and they are rather connected with a still later phase of the history of the Yavanas.

1. Infra., pp. 237 ff

We must consider here, before we come to Antialcidas, a small group of kings consisting of Zoilus I, Lysias and Theophilus. It ~~has~~ been suggested earlier that they may have traced some connections with the family of Euthydemus because of the Heracles type of their coins.¹ It is true that on grounds of style and fabric it can be argued that the coins of Zoilus Dikaios and those of Zoilus Soter are the coins of one and the same king struck in different regions ; and on the basis of the geographical distribution of their coins it would be safe to place Zoilus Dikaios west of ^{the} Indus and Zoilus Soter to the east.² But the matter does not end ~~on~~ here, for the difference in types and titles can not be ignored, especially when a remarkable difference in style is unanimously recognised. We are therefore inclined to support Tarn³ in accepting Martin's suggestion of two Zoilus', Zoilus Dikaios as the first and Zoilus Soter ~~and~~ as the second.⁴

The standing Heracles on the coins of Zoilus I is ~~exactly~~ similar to the one used by Euthydemus II;⁵ Heracles is not crowning himself as on the money of Demetrius I or Lysias,⁶ but holding out a wreath, which as we have remarked⁷ is not very usual ~~style~~ on Greek coins . Like

1. Supra., p. 63

2. Whitehead, NC. 1950, p. 209, also NC. 1923, p. 308, NC. 1940, pp. 111-12, NC. 1947, p. 45 . Both BMC (p. 52) and PMC, (p. 65 f.) have not distinguished between the two.

3. Tarn., pp. 319-20 ; cf. also Kozobubski, Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin, p. 1953, pp. 313-19

4. M.F.C. Martin, NS. XL., p. 19 . Tarn, p. 320, suggested that Zoilus Soter was a descendant-presumably a grandson- of Zoilus I, but as we shall see later we have placed him ~~x~~ among the successors of Apollodotus.

5. Cp. PMC. Pl I. 27 and Pl. VII. 525 , NC. 1947., Pl. I. 7

6. Cp. PMC., Pl. I. 18 and III. 150, ~~cf. also Plate Appendix.~~

7. Supra., p. 36

Euthydemus II he also seems to have been a sub-king. Tarn thought him to be 'one of the missing sub-kings of Menander,' whom he evidently survived.¹ Marshall thought him to be a sub-king of Menander and Strato I in Arachosia.² Cunningham had also supposed that Zoilus (he did not distinguish two Zoilus') may have become a tributary to Menander.³ The composition of the Bajaur hoards is significant; only four kings have been represented, Menander, Antimachus II, Zoilus I and Apollodotus.⁴ We suggest that in the Swat valley they ruled in the above order; it is possible that Zoilus I was appointed as sub-king of the Swat valley after Agathocleia in ^{the period of} her regency ~~period~~ had transferred Antimachus II to Arachosia.⁵ Zoilus I may have been related to Agathocleia for both used Heracles⁶ and as it is generally believed that the latter belonged to the family of Demetrius I,⁷ and naturally she may have had confidence in Zoilus I in that unsettled period to which we have already referred.⁸ It is likely that Zoilus I was a sub-king first of Arachosia and later of Swat valley, which will explain the presence of his coins in the Mir Zakah Treasure;⁹ his coins are generally not found in the Kabul valley,¹⁰ but are noticed in Western Gandhāra.¹¹ The

1. Tarn, p. 319

2. Taxila, I. p. 34

3. CASE, p. 240

4. NS. XL. pp. 18-21 ; N& JNSI, 1942, p. 61, NC. 1947, pp. 141-45

5. Supra, p. 180

6. for Agathocleia cf. PMC. Pl. V. 370

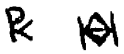




7. cf. supra, p. 118



8. cf. supra, pp. 76-80

9. Schlumberger, p. 78

10. CASE, pp. 239-40

11. Haughton, NC. 1943., pp. 51, 58

In a period when the mint-houses must have frequently passed from one king's possession to that of another such a mule is quite possible. This seems more probable since there are other features on their coins to show that no remarkable gap existed between them in time or place, and especially since there exists an overstrike of Antialcidas on Lysias,¹ which clearly indicates that Lysias was at least not later than Antialcidas. Both Lysias and Antialcidas wear similar headdresses and use in common some characteristic monograms.² "We do not require 'joint-money' to postulate an association of Lysias with Antialcidas."³ On the other hand this overstrike, taken together with the following evidence, would positively indicate that Lysias was a contemporary of the preceding generation of kings. Apart from some quite common monograms like  on the money of Heliocles II, Philoxenus and Lysias, these three kings also use a distinctive double monogram, one constituent of which is common to all of them: Heliocles II has  Philoxenus ,  and Lysias .⁴ Lysias and Philoxenus adopt the same epithet, Aniketos, and their coins are almost equally distributed in the Mir Zakah Treasure, the Kabul valley and the Kunduz hoard. We cannot prove that Philoxenus and Lysias were in league against

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1. PMC. Pl. III. 172, NC. 1950, p. 210. It is an overstrike of Antialcidas on Lysias of type PMC. 150. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ in the form ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ is followed by ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ half obliterated.
 2. , . cf. infra., p. 195
 3. Whitehead, NC. 1947 p. 32
 4. PMC, p. 29, Nos. 146, 149; p. 30, Nos. 151, 154; p. 31, Nos. 157-61; p. 71, Nos. 577, 579; p. 72, Nos. 584-89

the family of Eucratides; but at least we may guess it from the fact that Heliocles II overstruck the money of Philoxenus, and Antialcidas that of Lysias,¹ and also from the presence of Attic tetradrachms of both Philoxenus and Lysias in the Kunduz hoard. Our guesses may be wrong but the fact remains that in any case Lysias seems to have started his career earlier than Antialcidas and thus if his reign overlapped that of Antialcidas it should end in c. 110 B.C.² The coins of Lysias are comparatively ~~xx~~ rare in Gandhāra ; though some coins have been reported from the Peshawar area the number in the Takṣaśilā excavations is only three.³ On his silver money Lysias is shown wearing all the types of headdresses such as helmet, elephant-scalp and flat kausia,⁴ which were used by earlier Yavana kings but were never all used by one.⁵

Theophilus is another king , who probably belonged to the group of Zoilus I and Lysias, because of their common Heracles type.⁶ The 'Heracles and club' used by Theophilus on his coins,⁷ closely resembles the 'Heracles and club and bow-case' type of Zoilus I.⁸ But on a copper coin there is a cornucopia⁹ and on his single Attic tetradrachm from the

1. CASE, p. 189, supra, p. 175 ; NC.1950, p. 210

2. We have supposed Antialcidas' reign from c. 115 to 100 B.C., cf. infra, pp. 188, 195

3. Marshall, Taxila, II. p. 766-67

4. PMC. Pl. III. Nos. 150, 154 and 156

5. The other king who also used all these headdresses is Antialcidas , but who is probably not earlier than Lysias.

6. For long his silver drachm with Heracles in BM remained a unique specimen. (PMC. Pl. IX. viii)

7. PMC. p. 78 , Pl. VIII. 634. , Pl. XII. 10

8. BMC. p. 170 , Pl. XXXII. 2 , NC. 1950 Pl. XII. 10

9. PMC. p. 77, Pl. VIII. 632

Kunduz hoard there is the unique type of a seated Pallas with Victory on her extended hand.¹ His coins are very rare and except for the Attic tetradrachm of the Kunduz find it is difficult to say with any certainty the exact provenance of even the very few coins of his hitherto known. Haughton reports that the specimens he knew of were brought from R Rawalpindi² and Cunningham had noted that of the two coins he knew of, the silver was obtained at Rawalpindi and copper at Sialkot.³ Theophilus can have had only an ephemeral reign of a few months or at best a year, and Cunningham may be right in his conjecture that he was a son of Lysias.⁴ But it seems that he did not ~~x~~ succeed Lysias immediately; we have suggested later that he may have gained power after the Death of Antialcidas.⁵ The title Autocratos on his unique Attic tetradrachm is also unique in the coinage of the Yavanas. We can only guess at its significance. Perhaps he was a sub-king or a younger son who broke his allegiance and set up an ephemeral independent kingdom.⁶

We have noted that in the region north of the Hindu Kush after Eucratides II there was a period when the family of Eucratides I suffered a decline. This period seems to have been over by c. 115, when Antialcidas in all likelihood retrieved the fallen fortunes of his family. Apart from the well-known Attic tetradrachm and drachm of Antialcidas⁷ some ~~x~~ new varieties have now been found in the Kunduz hoard.⁸ There

1. Cf. Plate Appendix. Pl. V. 1

2. NC. 1943, p. 58

3. CASE., p. 215

4. Ibid. loc. cit.

5. cf. infra, pp. 248-49

6. cf. also infra, p. 249 fn.1

7. BMC. Pl. VII. 9 ; CASE. Pl. VIII. 6 (for drachm)

8. Cf. Appendix III. p. 312. Plate Appendix. Pl. IV. 4-5

are 90 coins of his in the Mir Zakah Treasure,¹ and^a considerable number of his coins have been noticed in the Kabul valley, Western Gandhāra and Takṣaśilā.² His money gives the impression that he was a prominent figure among the later Yavana kings and that he succeeded for some time at least in controlling a considerable part of the Yavana kingdom, where districts and provinces rapidly passed from one hand to the other after the death of Menānder.

Antialcidas is the only Yavana king other than Menander to be mentioned in an Indian epigraph. An inscription engraved on a Garuḍa Pillar found at Besnagar near Bhilsa³ records the name of an inhabitant of Takṣaśilā, Heliodorus son of Dion, coming as an envoy from Antialcidas to the court of Kāsīputra (or Kosiputra) Bhāgabhadra in the 14th. year of the latter's reign.⁴ This datum might well have helped to ascertain the date of Antialcidas but for the uncertainty of the identification of Bhāgabhadra. His identification with Bhāga or Bhāgavata⁵, the 9th. Śunga king according to the Purāṇas would place the inscription in c. 100 B.C.⁶ which would mean that the embassy was

1. Schlumberger, p. 76

2. cf. supra., p. 167, the Chart.

3. D.C. Sircar, Select Inscriptions., p. 90

4. "... Heliodoreṇa bhāgavatena Diyasa
putreṇa Takḥkhasilakena Yona-dutena (ā)gatena
maharajasa Amtalikitasa up(m)tā sakasam
rano (Ko)sipu(ta)ra)sa (Bh)āgabhadrasa trātārasa
vasena ca(tu)dasena rājena vadhamanasa"

5. CHI. pp. 521-22

6. Pargiter, The Dynasties of Kali Age, pp. 32, 70. Bhāgavata (Samābhāga) reigned for 32 years.

sent towards the end of Antialcidas' reign, if this started in c.115 B.C. But the discovery of a second Garuḍa Pillar at Besnagar dated in the 12th. regnal year of a king Bhāgavata¹ has led some scholars to doubt this identification. It has been suggested that Bhāgabhadra should be identified with the 5th. king of the Śunga dynasty who is variously named as Odraka, Andhraka, or Bhadraka, and who may have reigned according to the Purāṇic chronology, from c. 123 B.C.² But there seems to be no more reason to identify Bhāgabhadra with Odraka, the 5th. Śunga king than with Bhāga, the 9th. Firstly, the name as given in the most texts is Odraka or Andhraka,³ and secondly, whatever may be the name of the 5th. king he is credited a reign of either two or seven years,⁴ ~~which~~ whereas the inscription is dated in the 14th. regnal year. Bhāgavata, according to the Purāṇas on the other hand, reigned for 32 years. It seems very probable that Bhāgavata and Bhāgabhadra of the two inscriptions found at Besnagar and referring to the 12th. and 14th. regnal years respectively are identical. And since the 9th. king of the Śunga dynasty is also known as Bhāga or Bhāgavata and since Vidiśā - the Besnagar region- is known to have been in the possession of the later Śungas, the identification of the king of the Besnagar Inscription with the 9th. Śunga king of the Purāṇas

1. ASR. 1913-14, p. 190 ; MASI. No. 5. p. 152

2. Marshall, A Guide to Sanchi., p. 11 ; Raychoudhuri, PHAI., pp. 393-94

3. R.K. Mookerjee, AIU. p. 98 ; Sircar, AIU. p. 116

3. cf. Pargiter, op.cit., pp. 30-33, 70 ; CHI. p. 518

4. Ibid. loc.cit.

5. CHI., p. 522. It was noticed by Rapson that there was another inscription at Besnagar dated in the 12th. regnal year of a Bhāgavata, yet he favoured the identification of Bhāgabhadra with the 9th. Śunga king.

is almost certain.¹ But whoever he may have been he was certainly a powerful king to whom Antialcidas sent an envoy towards the end of his reign, when, as we shall see below, he had lost ^aconsiderable portion of his kingdom to Apollodotus and needed an ally. But again we are left guessing as to what happened as the result of this alliance, if it had any political significance. Antialcidas must have possessed Takṣa-silā at the time but the Besnagar Inscription does not prove that Takṣa-silā was the capital of Antialcidas, because ^{it} ~~Takṣa-silā~~ is mentioned therein only as the home of the envoy Heliodorus son of Dion (....Heliodoreṇa bhāgavatena Diyasaputrena Takḥkhasilākena yonadūtena (ā)gatena..) and not as the capital of Antialcidas. This inscription suggests that other Yavana kings also had friendly relations with the Indian kings or powers; Menander probably had some contact with the Mitra kings.² Incidentally this epigraph shows that a Yavana might become a follower of the Bhāgavata sect of Hinduism³ and that Buddhism was not the only religion which would accept him.⁴ A matter of significance is the title trātārasa equivalent of Greek Soteris, given to Bhāgabhadra in the inscription.⁵ This is an unusual epithet to be adopted by an Indian king and must have been given him by Heliodorus in the inscription.

1. But it is strange that none of the Śunga kings are known to have used metonymics as ^{did} Bhāgabhadra, who is called Kāśiputra or Kosi-putra (Kautsiputra), although the use of metonymics was common during this period all over India. Might we suggest that Bhāgabhadra = Bhagavata was a local king.

2. Supra., pp. 134 ff.

3. (De)vadevasya va(sude)vasa garudadhvaje ayam kārīte i(a) Heliodoreṇa bhāgavatena..... "

4. The most famous of the Yavanas, Menander became a Buddhist. The Yavanas mentioned in the Nasik and other cave inscriptions in Deccan also were Buddhists.

5. cf. text of the inscription, supra. p. 189

which was engraved at his instance. But we do not know why he chose the epithet trātāra, which means 'the saviour', for Bhāgabhadra, especially when this was not the epithet adopted either by Antialcidas or by his immediate predecessors.¹ It seems that Antialcidas fell ~~on~~ bad days towards the end of his career, when almost all his territory west of the Indus was lost to Apollodotus² and his power was confined to Takṣaśilā, and when to the east of Jhelum Strato was ruling in the Jammu-Sialkot region,³ and therefore he sought help of Bhāgabhadra to strengthen his position. But, Antialcidas soon lost Takṣaśilā also to Apollodotus; either Bhāgabhadra did not help him or his help was of no avail.

The main type of Antialcidas' coinage, consisting of the enthroned Zeus Nicephorus and a small elephant in different poses,⁴ can no longer be connected with the enthroned deity of the 'Kaviṣiye-nagara' coin of a certain Eucratides, because we have shown that it is not Zeus and we are doubtful whether the said coin belonged to Eucratides I at all.⁵ But Zeus had been adopted by the successors of Eucratides I, Archebius and both the Heliocles', as the chief deity on their money.

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1. The epithet of Antialcidas was Nicephorus (Jayadhara), that of Heliocles II, Dikaios (Dhramika) and of Archebius, Dikaios and Nicephorus.
 2. Infra., p. 202.
 3. Supra., pp. 178-79 ; infra., pp. 201-2.
 4. PMC., pp. 32-36. cf. Appendix III.
 5. Supra., pp. 100-102 ; Infra., p. 196 ff.

Antialcidas , however, started a new departure in depicting Zeus as seated on ^a throne ^{and} carrying Nike, instead of as standing with the thunder-bolt,¹ probably in allusion to his epithet Nicephorus. His mint-masters experimented with many pleasing and artistic variations of the composite type of Zeus, Nike and elephant. Sometimes the Nike in the extended hand of Zeus is holding a wreath,² sometimes the wreath is held by the elephant in his upraised trunk,³ and sometimes both hold wreaths.⁴ Sometimes the elephant is shown as advancing towards the Nike as if to take the wreath,⁵ sometimes he is shown returning in the ~~p~~ opposite direction,⁶ and on some coins the elephant is walking with Nike at his head and Zeus standing by his side.⁷ On ^a few specimens there is no Nike at all but only a ~~wreath~~ wreath and palm in the hand of Zeus and a very tiny elephant shown vertically with his trunk upwards.⁸ The variations of this composite type led scholars to propound an ingenious

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1. Enthroned Zeus occurs on a coin generally ascribed to Heliosdes I, cf. Appendix III.
 2. PMC. Pl. III. 170, 172, 189 (But still the elephant is not advancing to snatch it away, he stands by the side of the throne as if returning)
 3. CASE . Pl. VIII. 6
 4. BMC. Pl. VII, 14. Both General Haughton and H.de.S.Shortt have a fine specimen ~~of~~ each of this variety.
 5. BMC., Pl. VII.12.(But clearly sometimes there is no attempt at snatching the wreath e.g. Pl. VII.9)
 6. BMC., Pl. VII. 13
 7. NC., 1947. Pl. I.5; NC. 1923 Pl. XV.5.
 8. BMC. VII. 10. H.de S. Shortt has one.

theory that it offers a picture of conflict between two rival parties, the elephant representing one and Zeus the other.¹ We, however, fail to understand the cogency of this theory. If a conflict between two rival parties is depicted on the coins of Antialcidas, ^{it is not clear} whether Zeus or elephant should be considered to represent Antialcidas himself ~~is not clear~~. If the 'elephant' represented the opposite party as is usually believed, why should Antialcidas himself announce his defeat on his own money. Or, if Zeus represented the opposite party why should Antialcidas accept him seated enthroned on the main type of his coins. Neither of the alternatives justifies the theory of a struggle between Antialcidas and his rival, who is generally believed to be Lysias. ~~Though~~ we have shown that the existence of an overstrike indicates that Antialcidas ~~supceeded~~ Lysias. Moreover, it is strange that the mint-master should have had recourse to this unique method of showing the struggle on the coins of Antialcidas when we do not notice its counterpart on the coins of his hypothetical opponent. On the other hand the elephant is associated with the deity on the 'Kaviṣiye nagarā' type of a certain Eucratides² and on a coin of Zoilus II with Apollo.³ In fact ^{the} elephant was also ^{the} Vahana of Indra. As the Iranian Mithra and Zeus are often confused on Indo-Greek money might we suggest that the Antialcidas' type represents a Greek god with attributes borrowed from

1. Tarn., pp. 314-15 ; also NC 1923 . pp 325-26

2. Cf. Plate Appendix. Pl. I.9

cf. also Supra., pp 100-102

3. BMC. Pl. XII.12, PMC., Pl. VII.545. It is interesting to note that an elephant holds a wreath on a coin of Maues, cf. BMC., p. 71, Pl. XVII.5, PMC. Pl. X.31; and in another type also, PMC. X, 32 .


Indian mythology or even an Indian god depicted in Greek style !¹ The elephant is so common on the Indo-Greek coin that it is hardly possible to give much importance to it. We believe that the composite type of Antialcidas is only the result of artistic experiments and variations.

The monograms \mathbb{R} , $\mathbb{A}\Sigma$, \mathbb{M} , \mathbb{M} , \mathbb{M} on the coins of Antialcidas connect him in time and place to Lysias and \mathbb{R} and the very distinctive \mathbb{M} to Apollodotus.² We have shown that Antialcidas succeeded Lysias in some regions of North West India and we shall ~~xxx~~ show below that Apollodotus deprived Antialcidas of a considerable part of his kingdom. On the testimony of his coins we assign Antialcidas a reign of fifteen years and thus he must have died soon after c. 100 B.C. The remaining kings of this group, Telephus, Amyntas and Hermaeus, we shall discuss in the next chapter.

In our opinion Apollodotus and Strato belong to the same group.³ We do not know their relationship but they may have been brothers. Probably Apollodotus was a younger brother of Strato I.⁴

We have shown earlier that we have hardly any evidence to suppose the existence of ~~an~~ Apollodotus I, except the so called Eucratides overstrike on an Apollodotus' coin.⁵ But Cunningham, who

1. J.N.Banerjea called the enthroned deity with elephant on the 'Kavişiy nagara' coin Indra(DIHQ. 1938 pp. 295 ff.)
2. There is a copper coin of Antialcidas in BM. (ex Major Landon) which has \mathbb{M} and cf. also BMC No. 212, which has \mathbb{M} . For Apollodotus cf. BMC pp. 34-35
3. Supra., p. 163
4. He cannot have been an elder brother because Strato the heir-apparent and presumably the eldest son of Menander was a minor at the death of his father. Our ~~information~~ assumption that Apollodotus was a younger brother of Strato I gives him time to come to power later.
5. Supra., p. 110

first illustrated and discussed that overstrike, called it " a late coin of Eucratides struck upon Apollodotus " and thought the latter to be a son of Eucratides I.¹ Thus he considered it likely that Apollodotus did not precede him, in spite of the said overstrike piece. Von Sallet referred to a piece of Antialcidas overstruck by Eucratides.² But unfortunately it is not illustrated and Dr. Whitehead informs us that he omitted to verify it when he visited the Berlin Museum. On the other hand, Gardner mentioned this coin without any question³ and while considering the two overstrikes, i.e. one on Apollodotus and the other on Antialcidas, remarked also that, " ~~but~~ it has been doubted whether these coins of Eucratides were really issued during his life-time."⁴ If there is any truth in what we have noted above we might well be led to accept the existence of an Eucratides III, which is, indeed, not a very welcome proposition, but nevertheless worth considering. The 'Kavişiyenagara' coins are very rare ; only five specimens are in the British Museum and a few elsewhere. The monogram, which was not very clear in the BMC. and PMC., is now known from a better preserved specimen and is illustrated by us.⁵ This monogram  is, as far as we know, found only on the coins of Hermaeus⁶ and is certainly out of place in the

1. CASE., p. 230

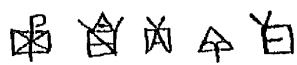
2. Von Sallet, p. 100

3. BMC., p. xxxv.

4. Ibid., loc.cit.

5. We illustrate an enlarged print of the BM coin which was published by Whitehead in NC. 1947, p. 30. Cf. Plate Appendix., p. 1.9

6. BMC., p. 62 no. 3 ; PMC., Pl. IX. 649. We must note that there are several other similar monograms which occur commonly on the coins of Apollodotus and Hermaeus but are generally not found on the money of earlier kings.

period of Eucratides I; in fact the occurrence of this monogram is a certain indication of a date long after Eucratides I. The type of this coin, which is now known to be not Zeus but a City-goddess, as has been shown by Whitehead¹ seems to be closer in time to later Yavana kings such as Hippostratus and to the Śaka king Maues, and it is rash to rely for the identification of the overstriker of Apollodotus' coin with Eucratides I ~~from~~ the obverse portrait of a few copper coins.² Even if the portrait does resemble Eucratides I, it may be accounted for on the assumption that a late Yavana king Eucratides temporarily occupied Kāpiś when Antialcidas' power was declining or when, towards the end of Apollodotus' reign, ~~the~~ ^{the} parts of the Yavana kingdom may have had some ephemeral kinglets; this Eucratides, who could not stabilise himself for any length of time, may have issued coins on the pattern of his illustrious namesake and overstruck the coins of both Apollodotus and Antialcidas. And if we accept the existence of an Eucratides III who may have been in some way related to Antialcidas and thus have belonged to the family of Eucratides I, we would be inclined to assign to him the bilingual copper coins which are numbered 87 to 129 in the PMC. list of Eucratides' coins.³ These coins generally bear the monograms, , which are unusual to the period of Eucratides I and are not found on the money of any Yavana king either contemporary or immediately linked with him in time and place. But on the other hand these monograms are very

1. Cf. Supra., p. 102

2. Portraits on the copper coins are generally not considered as evidence

3. PMC., pp. 22-23 (cf; also BMC. pp. 16-16)

common in the period we are now discussing. These monograms¹ are especially common on the money of Apollodotus , Hippostratus and Hermaeus. These coins also bear isolated Kharoṣṭhī letters¹ a feature characteristic of later Yavana coins. On some coins of this type where usually the epithet Μεγαλός of Eucratides I is repeated, there is also the epithet Σωτήρ, written as CΩTHP.,² and this again connects him with the period of the late Greek letterings found on the coins of Antialcidas, Apollodotus and Nicias.³ This hypothesis~~simplifies~~ simplifies our problems and there is no need to postulate an Apollodotus I.


There is nothing in the coins of Apollodotus , to distinguish ~~in them~~ two kings of the same name. We have shown that the silver coins, including the ~~xx~~ square ones, belong to the so-called Apollodotus II.⁴ Of the copper money , those round and square pieces which have Kharoṣṭhī monograms are definitely of the later Apollodotus, The small uninscribed copper coins doubtfully ascribed to the so-called Apollodotus I by Gardner, are now rightly arranged under Apollodotus II in the British

1. PMC. e.g. Nos. 102, 120, 128

2. PMC., p. 27 , unrepresented types , x.

3. Antialcidas, PMC., p. 33, No. 172, which has BACIAEΩC ; p. 36. No. 212 has [instead of E. Apollodotus, PMC., p. 41 Nos. 246-48 which bears C and ω as monograms and NC. 1923 fn. 23 mentions a coin of Apollodotus (II) in BM where γ instead of T . Nicias, PMC., pp. 73-74, his coins bear beside the normal letters both the round and square forms, e.g. CΩTHPOC , [ΩTHPOC . cf. infra., pp. 237-8, 251-54






4. Supra., pp. 104-5

Museum. The unique round copper piece showing Apollo surrounded by a wreath and bearing the simple inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ, which was found with the coins of Hipposstratus,¹ bears the monogram , which is commonly used by Apollodotus Philopator and Hipposstratus. Of the square copper money attributed to Apollodotus I by Gardner in BMC, Nos. 31-38, are allied rather to the definite copper issues of his Apollodotus II than to those of his Apollodotus I because of their typical tripod and bow and their cruder workmanship. Of the remaining coins some have monograms only on one side. ~~And xxxxxxxx~~ ~~shown~~ and others on both ; sometimes more than one monogram occurs on each side. And we have shown that the monogram on the coins of the so-called Apollodotus I generally belong to the later period of Yavana history rather than to the time of Eucratides I.² There is hardly any other means of distinguishing the copper money of the hypothetical * Apollodotus I from ^{that of} the later king of the same name. There is one title - Soter, and one type, Apollo ; the difference in the ~~original~~ arrangement of the inscription alone is an unsafe criterion for such purposes. Gardner realised the difficulty of separating the two issues

1. Haughton, NC. 1947', p. 144

2. Supra., p. 105

on a regional basis, but quoted Cunningham to the effect that Philopator coins are found only in the Punjab and North West India, while the others are found over a much wider area including the upper Kabul valley Kandahar and Sind.¹ But this division overlaps and later discoveries have proved it to be wrong. We do not know of any Yavana coin-find in Sind, but the southernmost find of Yavana coins in the Punjab was near Amarkot in the district of Dera Ghazi Khan² and it contained the Philopator coins among other issues of Apollodotus.³ The Amarkot hoard consisted of coins of Apollodotus only, and this fact much strengthens the probability that there was only one Apollodotus, for had there been two kings of the same name separated by a long gap of time we should expect some coins of the intervening/king or kings in the hoard. The recent discovery of the Mir Zakah hoard near Ghazni also contains Philopator coins.⁴ It seems, therefore, from the numismatic evidence alone, that we need not assume two Apollodotus'

The coins of Apollodotus which bear his portrait are strikingly similar in style to those of Hippostratus and they bear monogram  in common,⁵ whereas the square silver money is similar to the square silver coins of Philoxenus and bears monograms    and especially  in common with Antialcidas. The abundance of Apollodotus' coinage certainly indicates a long reign and wide influence. It

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1. BMC. , p. xxxvii ; CASE., p. 229-30 ., yet Cunningham did not distinguish two Apollodotus'.
 2. NS. XI, (1909) , pp. 307-9
 3. We must also note that the titles Soter and Philopator sometimes occur on the same coin, (PMC., p. 48) and the additional epithets Philopator and Megas are confined to the Greek legends ~~xxx~~ only and the Kharosthi legends invariably have the title Soter.
 4. Schlumberger, pp. 76-77
 5. BMC. compare Pl. ~~xxxxxx~~ X, 1-4 , XIV. 1-5

seems that he first minted coins as sub-king or more probably as a joint-king of Strato I. The latter, who undoubtedly had a long career, does not seem from his coinage to have ~~extendedxxxxxxxxxx~~ exercised his influence so widely as Apollodotus. It is possible that Apollodotus was an effective joint-ruler who managed to recover most of the Western regions of Strato's kingdom first from kings of the other families and ultimately gathered so much strength that he was virtually the sole sovereign and Strato was satisfied with having grandiloquent titles like Epiphanes. Apollodotus was x thus rightly the Soter of Strato's kingdom. Soon his ambitions may have led him to become independent of Strato and to consider himself Philopator, because he retrieved the declining fortune of Menander's kingdom. In fact next to Menander in popularity must have been the able Apollodotus Soter Philopator and Megas, who was probably Menander's son.

Apollodotus seems to have started his career at about the same time as Antialcidas and after the reign of Philoxenus and his contemporary kings, i.e. about 115 B.C., and on the basis of his coinage he may be assigned a reign of at least twenty years, including his career as joint-king; thus he ruled x until c. 95 B.C. and outlived Antialcidas. He must have started his career in the Swat valley, where in the two Bajaur hoards his coins are next to those of Menander in number, and gradually increased his power and spread his influence in Western Gandhāra, the Kabul Valley and the Ghazni region. In the latter

area the Mir Zakah Treasure contains 596 coins of Apollodotus, including the Philopator coins. Finally about 100 B.C. he overthrew
 X Antialcidas in Takṣasīlā.¹ Probably after this event ~~h~~ Apollodotus became a full fledged king and his elder brother was probably soon set aside as incompetent to rule. For a time Apollodotus must have
 X ruled over almost the entire kingdom of Menander. It is only after his death that the last phase of Yavana history begins.

1. According to Marshall , 58 coins of Apollodotus II and only 1 of the so-called Apollodotus I were found in Takṣasīlā, cf. Taxila, II. pp. 766-67
 Thus 59 coins of Apollodotus were found in Takṣasīlā as against 15 of Antialcidas.

CHAPTER VI

THE FALL OF THE YAVANAS

We have seen that after the death of Menander , the Yavana 'kingdoms' were controlled by several families with inevitable wars and alliances between them. Naturally therefore, the fall of one Yavana 'kingdom' did not mean the fall of the other, and they were not destroyed simultaeneously. Moreover, as we shall^{show} below, their fall was not the result of attack by a single power.

We quote at length the passages from the literary sources which are of primary importance. Describing the situation east of the Caspian Sea, Strabo says,¹ " Now the greater part of the Scythians, beginning at the Caspian Sea, are called Däae , but those who are situated more to the east than these are named Massagetae and Sacae, whereas all the rest are given the general name of the Scythians, though each people is given a separate name of its own. They are all for the most part nomads . But the best known of the nomads are those who took away Bactriana from the Greeks , I mean the Asii , Pasiani , Tochari and Sacarauli , who originally came from the country on the other side of the Jaxartes river that adjoins that of

L. Strabo ., XI . 8. 2.

the sacae and the Sogdiani and was occupied by the Sacae.¹ And as for the Dāae, some of them are called Aparni, some Xanthii and some Pissuri. Now of these~~s~~ the Aparni are situated closest to Hyrcania and the part of the sea that borders on it, but the remainder extend even as far as the country that stretches parallel to Aria. "

1. " μάλιστα δὲ γνώριμοι γεγόνασι τῶν νομάδων οἱ τοὺς
Ἑλληνας ἀφελόμενοι τὴν Βακτριανήν, Ἀσιοὶ καὶ
Πασιανοὶ καὶ Τόχαροι καὶ Σακάραι, ὁρμηθέντες
ἀπὸ τῆς περσικῆς τοῦ Ἰαξάρτου τῆς κατὰ Σάκας καὶ
~~Τόχαρους~~ Σογδιανούς, ἣν κατεῖχον Σάκαι _____ "

This is one of the most discussed passages in Strabo and some scholars (the latest, Sten Konow in Festschrift Til Prof. Olaf Broch., pp. 80-81 : The White Huns and Tokharian) who insist on reading a καὶ even after Σακάραι _____, which has been rightly cancelled both in the Teubner and Loeb editions of Strabo, needlessly confuse the import of this passage and try to bring in the Sacae. But without any prejudice to the historical discussions in question we believe that καὶ can be cancelled on principles of simple textual criticism for it is quite easy for a writer who was writing καὶ after Ἀσιοὶ _____, Πασιανοὶ _____, and Τόχαροι _____ to add one more after Σακάραι _____ by mistake.

Tarn also does not accept (p. 332) the view of Sten Konow which includes the Śakas and argues for five nomad peoples instead of four. (cf. Symbolae Osloenses, XXIV, 1945, p. 148)

Later Strabo says ,¹ " The Sacae , however , made raids like those of the Cimmerians and Treres, some into the regions close to their own country , others into regions farther away. For instance they occupied Bactriana , and ~~xx~~ acquired possession of the best land in Armenia, which they left named after themselves - Sacasene..... ."

The Trogus' Prologues say at one place ,³In the affairs of Bactria how king Diodotus established his rule : then how, during ~~his~~ reign⁴ the Scythian tribes Saraucae and Asiani seized Bactra and Sogdiani," and at another⁵ to quote the original , " Reges Thocarorum Asiani, interitusque Sacaraucae."⁶

1. Strabo, XI . 8. 4.

2. Cf. infra., p. 212

3. XLI. . " In Bactrianis autem rebus , ut a Diodoto rege constitutum est : deinde quo regnante Scythicae gentes Saraucae et Asiani Bactra occupavere et Sogdianos.

4. Trogus' Prologues are often disconnected sentences and obviously there seems to be something missing here. Deinde followed by quo can hardly be correct. Either the name of a king ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ is missing or quo is a corruption of a king's name or deinde should be deleted unless of course the position is reversed to read quo deinde , meaning " when afterwards (Diodotus) was reigning etc..... ." but we have hardly any evidence for a Scythian attack in the reign of Diodotus.

5. XLII.

6. This can be translated as " Asiani the kings of the Thocari, the annihilation of Sacaraucae." This again is enigmatic because it is not clear whether Thocarorum means the people or the country. Some scholars have favoured the reading Cusani in place of Asiani, suggesting Cusani to mean Kuşanas.

Among the Chinese sources, Shih-chi, the earliest says,¹
 " Originally the Yüeh-chih lived between Tun-huang and (Mt.) Ch'i-lie
 When they were defeated by the Hsiung-nu , they moved far away. They
 passed (Ta-) Yüan and westward as far as Ta-hsia, which they attacked
 and subjugated . Finally they settled their imperial court north of
 the Oxus river.

" Ta-hsia, situated in the south of the Oxus river , is more than two
 thousand li to the South West of Ta-Yüan. They are sedentary. have
 walled cities and houses, and the same customs as the Ta-Yüan. They
 have had no great kings or chiefs, some cities and towns had small
 chiefs. Their soldiers were weak and feared fighting. They were skilli
 in trade. When Ta-Yüeh-chih migrated westward, they attacked and defea
 ed them and subjugated all the Ta-hsia. The population of Ta-hsia is
 approximately more than one million . Their capital is named Lan-shi
 ch'êng (or the walled city of Lan-shi)."

The Ch'ien Han Shu records,² " the ~~Kx~~ Chi-pin kingdom
 In the north west it borders Ta-Yüeh-chih , and in the south west
 it borders Wu-i-san-li. Anciently, when Hsiung-nu beat the Ta-Yüeh-ch
 the Ta-Yüeh-chih moved westward as far as Ta-hsia which they ruled as
 kings and the king (or royal family) of Sai moved southward as far as
 Chi-pin which he controlled as their chief. Thus the population of the

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1. From Book 123. This and other passages from the Chinese sources
 used by us in this chapter have been very kindly translated for
 us by Professor K. Enoki and to him our acknowledgement is due.
 For other translations cf. Bibliography.
 2. Book . 96 a.

Sai were scattered and in some places they constituted several countries (For instance,) such countries as Hsiu-hsun and Chuan-tu, both of which are to the North West of Su-lê (Kashgar), all originate from the Sai

" The Ta-yüeh-chih kingdom . (The King) resides at Ch'ien-shi ch'êng (or the walled city of Ch'ien-shi) The Ta-yüeh chih were originally a nomadic nation , which moved along with their herds.(In this respect) they had the same custom as the Hsiung-nu They lived originally between Tun-huang and (Mt) Ch'i-lien. Mao t shan-yu (of the Hsiung-nu) attacked them and defeated them and Lao-sha shan-yu killed the king of the Ta-yüeh-chih. Thus the (Ta)-yüeh-chih moved far away. Passing Ta-yüan they went as far as Ta-hsia, which they attacked and subjugated, and settled their imperial court north of the Oxus river.

" The Ta-hsia had originally no great kings or chiefs. Some cities and towns had their small chiefs. The people were weak and feared fighting. Therefore when the Ta-yüeh-chih moved there, they subjugated them all, and both the Ta-yüeh-chih and the Ta-hsia accept the order of Chinese embassy sent by the Han court. There are five hsi-hou (ya@bus viz., Hsiu-mi, with its capital Ho-mo; Schuang-mi with its capital Schuang-mi; Kuei-shuang with its capital Hu-tsao; Hsi-tun with its capital Po-mo ; and Kao-fu with its capital Kao-fu (Kabul). All of these belonged to the Ta-yüeh-chih as their subjects."

The Ch'ien Han Shu further says¹: "(The country of the Wu-sun)

1. Book. 94 b.

was originally occupied by the Sai. The Ta-yüeh-chih, moving westward defeated the Sai-wang (or king of the Sai), who was forced to flee. The ~~kk~~ king of the Sai went to the South and passed the Hsien-tu. The Ta-yüeh-chih settled themselves in the country(of the Sai). Afterward the Kun-mo (title of the king of Wu-Sun) of Wu-Sun attacked and defeated the Ta-yüeh-chih. The Ta-yüeh-chih migrated westward, and subjugated the Ta-hsia. The Kun-mo of Wu-Sun settled himself there (in the country of the Ta-yüeh-chih). Therefore it is said that there are elements of Sai population and that of Ta-yüeh-chih among the subjects of Wu-Sun."

The Hou Han Shu reports¹ , " The country of Ta-yüeh-chih is situated at Lan-shih Ch'êng, which is at a distance of 49 days' travel from An-hsi(Parthia) in the West, 6537 li from the station of the (Chinese) High Commissioner (Liu-chung, i.e. Lukchun in the southern part of Turfan basin) in the east, and 16370 li from Lo-yang (Chinese capital). The total of families amounts to one hundred thousand, population four hundred thousand. Formerly, when the Yüeh-chih were destroyed by the Hsiungnu, they migrated to Ta-hsia and divided the country among five hsi-hou, that is to say, Hsiu-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Pa-tun and Tu-mi. More than one hundred years had passed after that Ch'iu-chiu-ch'ueh , hsi-hou of Kuei-shuang having attacked and destroyed (other) four hsi-hou, became independent and set himself on the throne. (His) kingdom was called Kuei-shuang-wang (i.e. king of Kuei-shuang). He invaded An-hsi (Parthia) and took the district of Kao-fu. (He) also destroyed P'u-ta and Chi-pin, both of which were completely subjugated to him. Ch'iu-chiu-ch'ueh died at the age of more

than eighty. Yen-kao-chên became king in succession . He also destroyed T'ien-chu (India), where he stationed a general to supervise and govern. Since then, the Yüeh-chih are most rich and prosperous. (All the people of) many (other) countries call them Kuei-shuang-wang, but in China they are called Ta-yüeh-chih according to their old designati

Though the identification of the term Ta-hsia of the Chinese sources is controversial¹ it has been ably shown that it denoted the Bactrians.² Thus the conquest of Bactria proper or Ta-hsia is ascribed by Strabo³ to four nomadic peoples⁴, the Asii, Pasiani, Tochari and Sacarauli ; by Trogus to two such peoples, the Asiani and the Sacarauc and by all the Chinese records to the Yüeh-chih.

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1. For different views : (i) Ta-hsia = Tochari or Tocharia, Marquart, Eransahr ,pp. 204-10; Chavannes, Toung Pao, VIII p. 187, Konow , CII p. liv. (ii) Ta-hsia= Greeks, Minns, Scythians and Greeks ,p. 129, Herzfeld, Sakastan,p. 28 . (iii) Ta-hsia= Dahae. Däae is transcribed as Ta-i in the Shih-chi (cf. Shiratori, Sei'i Kishi Kenkyu. I.p. 532, II.,p.78)
 2. Tarn .,pp. 295-98.
 3. Tarn (p. 284 fn.4) thinks that there can be no ~~xxxx~~ possible doubt that Apollodorus is Strabo's source here, though he is not named.
 4. Sten Konow (Symolpae Osloenses XXIV,1945,p. 148) has argued for five names, not four, the fifth being the Sacae but Tarn (Addenda ., p. 532) has rightly rejected this theory. cf. supra.,p.204
 5. Trogus. XLI ,supra.,p.

Tarn thought that the Pasiani of Strabo's list were the Parsii , but on the other hand if Vaillant's original emendation $\eta \alpha \sigma \iota \alpha \nu \omicron \iota$ instead of $\pi \alpha \sigma \iota \alpha \nu \omicron \iota$ supported by Charpentier², Haloun³ and Bachhofer⁴ is accepted Strabo's list refers to only three tribes; and this makes the problem easier.⁵ The Asii and Sacarauli of Strabo can be safely identified with Trogus' Asiani and Sacaraucae. There then remain only one unidentified tribe, the Tochari, who must surely be the Yüeh-chih of the Chinese reports. The identification of the Tochari of the Western sources and the Yueh-chih of the Chinese seems to us conclusive. To discuss this identification in detail is outside the scope of our present work.

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1. Tarn, pp. 292 ff. ; H.W.Bailey, BSOAS, 1948, p.151, says that the $\pi \alpha \sigma \iota \alpha \nu \omicron \iota$ may perhaps survive in the speakers of modern Pasto in Afghanistan.
 2. ZDMG . 1917 pp. 366,370
 3. ZDMG . 1937 p. 244
 4. JAOS . 1941 pp. 243-44
 5. Altheim I.p. 11, however, rejects it though he disagrees with Tarn explanation, II. p. 100 . Tarn has noticed this emendation in his Addenda.p. 534 but has nothing to say .
 6. Haloun, ZDMG, 1937, pp.243-318 ; H.W.Bailey. BSOS. VIII.pp. 883 ff. Tarn. pp. 283 ff. ; O.Maenchen-Helfen , JAOS. 1945 pp. 71 ff. The identification Yüeh-chih = Tochari is further strengthened by H.W. Bailey in his recent paper in BSOAS. 1953 (XV)p.530 ff., cf. especially pp. 533-36.

Of these three peoples, the Sacarauli or Sacaraucae were definitely a Scythian tribe and the Asii or Asiani also seem to have been one of the tribes who were given the general name of the 'Scythians'.¹ Tarn who first thought the Asii to be one of the two constituents of the Yueh-chih - the other being the Tochari - expressed his doubts later.² Thus only the Tochari are to be certainly identified with the Yüeh-chi

But whether the Tochari were also Scythians³ must be doubted. The Yüeh-chih or Tochari were the enemies of the Sai (Sakas) whom they attacked on their trek westward, and according to Chinese sources were a completely different people. That the Tochari spoke the Saka language does not prove that they were Sakas ; from language alone ethnic character cannot be safely deduced, a barbarian conqueror may often adopt the

1. Strabo, XI. 8.2. " --- τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κοινῶς μὲν Σκύθας
ὀνομάζουσιν, ἰδίᾳ δ' ὡς ἑκάστους --- "

2. Tarn., pp. 284, 533.

3. Lohuizen, op.cit. pp. 44-47

language of the more civilised conquered people. The Yüeh-chih would naturally adopt the Saka language because they settled in the regions where Saka dialects were spoken and they were totally cut off from their original home. The confusion is partly due to a misunderstanding of Strabo's passages, as has rightly been pointed out by Tarn.¹ Strabo ~~XI.8.4~~ XI.8.4. , a portion of which we have quoted earlier, says no doubt that Sakas occupied Bactria," but the most cursory perusal of the context shows that throughout the whole section he is talking, not of the second century B.C., but of a time long before that - he calls it Achaemenid, but it was actually the seventh century - the time of the great Saka invasion, well known from Assyrian sources, which had played its part in the fall of Nineveh and had penetrated as far as Armenia and Cappadocian Pontus."² This misunderstanding of Strabo led to much confusion that even the Tochari of Strabo XI.8.2 . have been considered to be a Saka tribe.³ But a study of the whole section will show that Strabo is confused; as he himself admits.⁴ He simply includes the Tochari among the nomads " who took Bactriana from the Greeks", but he does not say that they were Sakas. He knew of course that the nomads who took Bactriana originally came from the country

1. Tarn., p. 283

2. Ibid. loc.cit.

3. It seems two events of different times, conquest of Bactria by the Greeks and the conquest of Bactria in the Achaemenid period by the nomads, have been confused in Strabo XI. 8. 2.

4. Strabo . loc. cit.

on the other side of the Jaxartes and that they included not only the Scythian tribes but also the Tochari ; naturally he could not distinguish between the Scythian and the non-Scythian , because he was not aware of the earlier movements of the Tochari-Yüeh-chih. We shall see below that Strabo's evidence concerns only the last phase of the Yüeh-chih movement referred to by the Chinese sources.

Two stages^{of} this movement are clear from the study of the Chinese reports.¹ The first, from Kan-Su to the Upper Ili, ending in 160 B.C.; and the second from the region of the Upper Ili to Ta-hsia, ending in 129-28 B.C.²

When the Yüeh-chih reached the Upper Ili they displaced the Sai (Saka) people; some of the Sai princes (Sai-wang) moved south and ultimately reached Chi-pin. The Yüeh-chih , on the other hand, were soon attacked by the Wu-Sun and hence they moved West beyond Ta-yüan to occupy Ta-hsia. It is important to note that the Chinese evidence

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1. The chronology of the movements of these tribes have been thoroughly studied by K. Shiratori, J. Kuwabara and T. Fujita. Haloun discussed their views in ZDMG. Vol. 91. pp. 247 sq. . Cf. also Lohuizen, op. cit., p. 32 f.
 2. For the first period : K. Shiratori, Sei Kishi Kenkyū, I. p. 29 (174-158 B.C.) but later p. 60 (174-160 B.C.) ; T. Fujita , Tozai Kōshōshi no Kenkyū (Sei Ki Len) pp. 77-78 (172-160 B.C.); J. Kuwabara Tozai Kōshōshi, Ronso, pp 16-19 (172-161/60 B.C.)

For the Second period : The starting date, Shiratori, op. cit., p. 31 (B.C. 158) ; Fujita, op. cit., pp. 83-84 (B.C. 160/61); Kuwabara , op. cit., pp 28-29 (B.C. 139 or a little after)

We have taken the end of the second period as 129-28 B.C., the date generally agreed for Chang Chien's visit to the Yüeh-chih and Ta-hsia

is consistent and explicit in saying that the Sai moved to the South and the Yüeh-chih to the West; the two peoples did not travel in the same direction.

When the Yueh-chih were forced to move from the Upper Ili to seek new lands towards the Oxus they must have displaced the tribes of the Jaxartes area who were of Scythian stock ; it is clear from the Western classical sources that there were several peoples between the Caspian Sea and the Lake Issyk Kul who were known by the general name 'Scythian'. Two of them, the Sacarauili(Sacaraucae) and the Asiani, are mentioned with the Tochari(Yueh-chih), and probably, therefore, were displaced by the second movement of the Tochari-Yueh-chih. The Sacarauili(Sacaraucae) and the Asiani were no doubt the Scythian tribes who, as a result of their dispersal by the Yueh-chih , disturbed the Parthian kingdom under Phraates II and Aratabanus II during the period 138-124 , until they were quelled and settled by Mithridates II.¹ Probably these Scythians settled in Sacastene (Seistan) where there may have been an earlier settlement of the Scythians in the Achaemenid period;² but Seistan was then ruled by the Parthians.³ There the Scythians and the Parthians mingled with each other, forming a composite people, whom we may call the Scytho-Parthians or the Pahlavas, and who took both Śaka and Pahlava names ;⁴ kings from Vonones to Gondophernes, who are

1. Debevoise, op.cit. ,pp. 29, 37-38

2. For the theory of an earlier migration of Scythians to Sacastene, cf. F.W.Thomas, JRAS. 1906,p. 181 f. . But we do not believe in the improbability of a later settlement of Scythians in view of our evidence as Thomas,op.cit.,p.192 f. suggests.

3. Isidore , Parthian Stations .p.8

4. F.W.Thomas., op.cit. , pp. 204-214

connected by the numismatic evidence, ~~w~~ seem to belong to one and the same Pahlava family.¹

The Sai of the Upper Ili mentioned in the Chinese sources were another Scythian tribe ; they should not be confused with the Scythians of the Jaxartes valley or other areas west of them. Even the Western classical sources refer to the Sacae as distinguished from the other Scythian tribes ;² Strabo explicitly refers to the Sacarauili and other peoples, as coming from the country which " adjoins that of the Sacae" and therefore, the Sacae must be different from Sacarauili (Sacaraucae) or Asiani. They are in fact the easternmost Scythian people , known to the Chinese sources as Sai which was then pronounced as 'Sok'.⁴ The movement of these Sai(Sok=Sacae=Saka) is quite distinct from that of their kinsfolk further west.

When the Sai people were displaced by the Yueh-chih the adventurous prince or princes (Wang) of the Sai went south to seek new lands. Their destination , according to the Chinese source, was Chi-pin the route to which was via Hien-tu, the 'Hanging pass'.~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ With the help of Fa-Hsien's itinerary, the position of Hien-tu is defined as being on the Indus in a SSW direction from Kashgar, a little to the

1. The Vonones group of kings is associated with the Azes group through the Spalirises-Azes coin and the Azes group associated with the Gondophernes group through the Aspavarma coins. ~~see also in the same~~

2. Strabo, XI.8.2. ; Ptolemy, ~~BK.VI~~ chs. XIII-XV.

3. Strabo, XI.8.2.

4. Karlgren , Analytic Dictionary of Chinese No. 773, p. 233. ~~&~~
and Sino-Japanese . Paris. 1923.

west of Skardo, and near the boundary of modern Dardistan.¹ But this gorge probably extended for upwards of one hundred miles from Skardo to Rongdo, and from Rongdo to Mak-pon-i-shang rong² so that it is not possible to define the exact position of the Hien-tu with absolute accuracy. However, from the Upper Ili region to the Hanging Pass the route is clear. The Sai probably came via the Terek Pass to the Kashga area and thence instead of turning left to Yarkand, we suggest they took the direct route to Tashkurgan, from which they proceeded via one of the northern passes to Gilgit^{2a} and thus reached the Hien-tu .

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

The Chinese sources tell us that the key to Chi-pin was the Hanging Pass. We would expect therefore that Chi-pin was not far ~~xx~~ away from the Hanging Pass, probably to the south or south-east . The identification of Chi-pin is not yet finally settled, because in the different periods of Chinese history the term denoted ~~x~~ different regions, though all these regions were contiguous to each other. According to Shiratori, Chi-pin denoted Gandhāra in the Han period, Kashmir in the Six Dynasties and Kapiśa in the T'ang period.³ But the earliest mention of Chi-pin is in the Ch'ien Han Shu and we are concerned with the region it denoted in the period of the early Hans. Franke had concluded that while Chi-pin ~~x~~ specially denotes Kashmir, the Śaka

1. Franke : Beitrage Aus Chinesischen Quellen Zur Kenntnis der Turko-völker und Skythen Zentralasiens., p. 58

2. Cunningham, Ladak , pp. 88-89 ; Smith, ZDMG. 1907 p. 419

2a. Stein, Ancient Khotan , Oxford , 1907. cf. the first two chapters. pp1-46

3. Shiratori, op.cit., pp. 377-462

dominion included the North Western portion of the modern Kashmir and the area we have called the Swat valley; roughly this region would be that called Udyāna,¹ which was sometimes included in the geographical term Gandhāra. In the Ch'ien Han Shu, Chi-pin is described as fruit-growing country, famous for embroidery and other handicrafts,² It seems that though Chi-pin later denoted the Kashmir valley and gradually became a geographical expression for the Kuṣāna empire in India, in our period it was roughly the Swat valley and the adjoining areas. The findspots of the coins and inscriptions of the earliest Śaka kings in India also suggest the same identification. The old view that Chi-pin was Kabul³ does not seem probable because the Chinese also knew the latter by the name Kao-fu.⁴

How the Śakas reached the Swat region and Gandhāra from the Hanging pass is difficult to determine, but in such a region there cannot be much choice of roads and it is reasonable to suppose that the invaders, like Fa-Hsien later, passed into Udyāna and ~~descended~~ descended through the Swat valley ~~xxxGandhāraxxx~~⁵ ~~ThexChinaxx~~ to Gandhāra.⁵ The Chinese sources do not tell us that

1. Franke, op.cit. pp. 58-59

2. Wylie, X. p. 35.

3. Also supported and discussed in detail by Tarn, in Appendix 9, pp. 469-73. He found in Chi-pin the old name Ko-phen for Kabul. cf. also Lohuizen., op. cit. p. 372.

4. Hou-Han Shu. Bk. 88. cf. infra., p. 255

5. ZDMG. 1907 p. 419

the Sai actually ~~xxxxxx~~ crossed the Hanging pass. If Chi-pin denoted the Kashmir valley when the Ch'ien Han Shu was written it might have been necessary for the Sai to cross it, but ~~xx~~ if, as we believe, the Chi-pin of this period lay further West there was probably no need to cross ~~xx~~ the Pass. And, although some of the Sai may have done so, the bulk of the host must have taken the easiest road and therefore probably followed the route of Fa-hsien. The theory that the Śaka tribe travelled from the Upper Ili to Chi-pin via the Hanging Pass has often been rejected by scholars for no other reason than the so called physical impassability of the route for a nomad tribe.¹ Apart from the fundamental generalisation that nature has never ~~xx~~ deterred ~~x~~ adventurous spirits, we have other reasons also to support our theory. Linguistically the whole area from the Upper Ili to Hien-tu which the Sai traversed is considered to have been Śaka - speaking. Historically we know of two instances when Chi-pin and the North and Western region of Kashmir were attacked from the north. In A.D. 445 Mu-li-yen, the chief of the Tu-yu-hun, who was antagonistic to the Topa Wei broke into the country of Yu-tien, killed the king and then attacked Chi-pin in the south.² Again in the 8th. century A.D., in the Tang period, a Chinese army of 10,000 crossed the Northern Passes to occupy regions of North and West Kashmir.³ Moreover, this was the general trade route in the

1. F.W.Thomas, JRAS, 1913 pp. 634 f.

2. Wei-Shu, Bk. 101. I owe this reference to Professor K.Enoki.

3. Stein, On Central Asian Tracks, p.42. Kao Hsien Chih in A.D. 747 successfully invaded the territories of Yasin and Gilgit. Stein believes that his army of 10,000 after starting from Kashgar and crossing the Pamirs traversed over the Bargohil and Darkot passes.

later historical periods. The legend~~x~~ of Kustana a son of Asoka foundi
 a kingdom in Khotan¹ also presupposes the ~~x~~ crossing of northern passe
 It is true that^{the} ~~^~~ Karakoram Pass is extremely difficult to negotiate but
 that is not the Pass in question. However, the movement of the Sai was
 probably not one long arduous and continuous march. It must have cover
 ed considerable time and was achieved by stages, for whatever chronolo
 gy we accept it is quite certain that the earliest known date of a
 Śaka king in India² is at least several decades later than 160 B.C.,
 when the Sai were forced to leave the Upper Ili. With the Yavanas still
 occupying parts of Afghanistan and the Parthians under Mithridates I
 enjoying great power, it is impossible to imagine any migration from
 the Upper Ili to Chi-pin (Whatever identifications of the name we
 accept) via Bactria through hostile lands and peoples, especially when
 the Yüeh-chih ~~had to take the same route~~ were also to follow the same route.
 On the other hand the direct southward movement was politically as well as
 physically ~~feasible~~ feasible; it was not difficult for the Sai-wang to conquer and rule
 the agricultural and trading peoples of the areas which they traversed,
 who were of allied race and speech. The Ch'ien Han Shu which tells us
 about the Sai migration also notes at the same place, that, " thus the

1. CHI p. 507

2. Cf. infra., p. 231 for the date of Maues.

population of the Sai were scattered and in some places they constituted several countries. (For instance) such countries as Hsiu-hsun and Chuan-tu, both of which are to the north-west of Su-lê (Kashgar), all originate from the Sai" ¹ Thus the Chinese sources very clearly indicate that the Sai-wang moved to Chi-pin by a direct southward route and therefore we should not confuse their movement with the movement of other Scythian tribes such as those of the Sacaraucae of the Jaxartes-Oxus area.

The Sai of the Chinese annals, the Scytho-Parthians (i.e. other Scythians who had settled in Sacastene and who had intermixed with the Parthians), and the Yüeh-chih (Tochari), were thus the three peoples who ~~were~~ overthrew the Yavanas, attacking from different directions, in different regions, and at different times. And in them we find the Śakas, the Pahlavas, and the Tuṣāra-Kuṣāṇas² of the Indian sources.

It is essential to determine the chronology of these three peoples in so far as they concern the history of the Indo-Greeks. Especially important are the dates of the occupation of Bactria proper by the Yüeh-chih, the foundation of a new Pahlava power in Seistan by

1. Supra. p. 207 . Chien Han shu, 96a

2. If Kuei-shuang are considered a part of the Yüeh-chih tribe, the Kuṣāṇas and the Tuṣāras should be taken together, one being ~~the~~ part of the other. There are, however, scholars who do not take the five hsi-hou mentioned in the Chinese sources as belonging to the Yüeh-chih tribe, though it is clearly against the explicit account of the Chinese annals.

Vonones and the establishment of the Śaka kingdom in India by Maues.

It is usually believed that when Chang Ch'ien visited the Yüeh-chih in 129-28 B.C. they were masters of Ta-hsia (Bactria).¹ But an analysis of the Chapter 123 of Shih Chi of Ssu-ma-ch'ien and a comparison of its accounts with the relevant passages in Ch'ien Han Shu and Hou Han Shu gives a clear impression that the complete political subjugation of Ta-hsia, Bactria south of the Oxus river, by the Yüeh-chih took place much later.

In the beginning of ~~the~~ Chapter 123 of ^{the} Shih Chi, we are informed that Ch'ang Ch'ien was sent by the Chinese Emperor to the Yüeh-chih in order to induce the latter to enter into an alliance with the Chinese against the Hsiung-nu. But Ch'ang Ch'ien could not carry his point with them because they had "subjugated" the Ta-hsia and had ~~settled~~ ~~down~~ ~~to~~ ~~a~~ ~~life~~ ~~of~~ ~~peace~~ and settled down to a life of peace. Then Ch'ang Ch'ien went to Ta-hsia and after one year~~x~~ returned to China. After this preamble, Ssu-ma-ch'ien describes the several countries which Ch'ang Ch'ien visited, his account being chiefly based on Ch'ang Ch'ien's report to the Chinese Emperor. Ta-Yüeh-chih and Ta-hsia are described separately.

Y

1. Lohuizen, op.cit., pp. 31 -32

We are told that "the Ta-Yüeh-chih is situated about two or three thousands li westwards of Ta-yüan. (It) is to the north of the Wei-shui (Oxus river). To the south (of it) is situated Ta-hsia; to the west An-hsi ; to the north K'ang-chu (Sogdiana)..... Originally the Yüeh-chih lived between Tun-huang and (Mt.) Ch'i-lien. When they were defeated by the Hsiung-nu , they moved far away. They passed (Ta-) Yüan and went westward as far as Ta-hsia, which they attacked and subjugated. Finally they settled their imperial court north of the Oxus river"

Then after describing An-hsi (Parthia), Li-kan (Syria) and T'iauchi (Chaldea), Ssu-ma-ch'ien turns to Taehsia, " Ta-hsia , situated in the south of the Oxus river, is more than 2000 li to the south-west of Ta-yüan. They are sedentary, have walled cities and houses, and the same customs as the Ta-Yüan. They have had no great kings or chiefs. Some cities and towns had small chiefs. Their soldiers were weak and feared fighting. They were skilful in trade. When the Ta-Yüeh-chih migrated westward, they attacked and defeated them and 'subjugated' all the Ta-hsia. The population of Ta-hsia is approximately more than one million. Their capital is named Lan-shi Ch'êng (or walled city of Lan-shi)."

Later we are told that, " The Emperor (= Wu-ti) has already been informed that such countries as Ta-Yüan, Taehsia and An-hsi are all big countries, where one can find many rare things , and where people are sedentary and engaged ~~with~~ very similar occupation to ~~those of~~ the

Middle Kingdom, and weak in military affairs and make much of things and treasures of the Han. (He also has heard that) to the north (of these countries) are situated Ta-Yüeh-chih and K'ang-chu which, though strong in their military power, could be bribed to be of service to the court (of the Han)..... "

The Chinese Emperor therefore approved of Chang Ch'ien's proposal to send embassies to different countries. And later, Ssu-ma-chien informs us that " (K'ang) Ch'ien, therefore, dispatched vice-envoys separately to Ta-Yüan, K'ang-chu, Ta-Yüeh-chih, Ta-hsia, An-hsi, Shen-tu, Yu-tien, Han-shên and many other countries. "

According to Ssu-ma-chien it is quite explicit that although the Ta-Yüeh-chih had "subjugated" the Ta-hsia, for all practical purposes the latter were independent. The royal court of the ~~Taxkix~~ Ta-Yüeh-chi was north of the Oxus river; Ta-hsia had their own capital and separate embassies could be sent them by foreign powers. It is clear that the Ta-hsia was not so thoroughly subjugated that the Ta-Yüeh-chih could establish their royal court south of the Oxus. It thus seems that the Ta-Yüeh-chih occupied only those parts of the Bactrian kingdom which lay north of the Oxus; but that they ^{had} defeated the Ta-hsia without actually occupying their lands and contented themselves for a time ~~being~~ with the payment of tribute.¹

1. Professor Enoki in a long communication to me has compared the different Chinese words ~~which~~ used in the Chinese Annals to denote degrees of 'subjugation' and he confirms our view.

But the situation is quite different in the accounts of Ch'ien Han Shu and Hou-Han Shu. The former clearly says that the king of the Ta-Yüeh-chih resides at Ch'ien-shi Chêng (= Lan-shi Chêng) and the latter also notes that "the country of Ta-Yüeh-chih is situated at Lan-shi Chêng" We are further informed that the Ta-Yüeh-chih divided the Ta-hsia into five hsi-hou. This is definitely a picture of the complete political subjugation and occupation of Ta-hsia. Moreover we are told that both Ta-Yüeh-chih and Ta-hsia accept the order of the Chinese embassy sent by the Han Court. Ta-hsia is not separately described, its identity merged in that of the Ta-Yüeh-chih. The five hsi-hou are expressly stated as belonging to the Ta-Yüeh-chih as their subjects. And the prominence which is given to the Ta-hsia in the Shih-chi is not found in the Ch'ien Han Shu. It, therefore, seems evident that Bactria proper south of the Oxus river must have come under the complete political subjugation of the Yüeh-chih either after the Shih-chi was written or at a time quite near its completion when the news had not reached Ssu-ma-ch'ien, but definitely long before the composition of Ch'ien Han Shu. Shih-chi was completed in 99 B.C.¹ and therefore, in round numbers, we may say that the occupation took place about 100 B.C.

Y

1. Hirth. p. 91

The second important date for us to determine is that of the foundation of a new Pahlava power in Seistan by Vonones. We know from Parthian history that throughout the period 138 B.C. to 124 B.C. which covers the reigns of Phraates II and Artabanus II the Scythians were a great source of trouble to the Parthians and that both Phraates II and Artabanus II perished in their battles against them.¹ According to Kuwabara the second movement of the Yüeh-chih , i.e. from the Upper Ili westward on their journey to Taehsia, started in c. 139 B.C.² and according to the chronology adopted by us Heliocles I's reign was over by about 140 B.C.³ Thus it seems that the Scythian tribes of the Jaxartes-Oxus area , being pressed by the Yüeh-chih sometime after 139 B.C., occupied parts of Bactria sometime after the death of Heliocles I, during the reigns of Phraates II and Artabanus II from c. 138 to 124 B. We have already shown that after Heliocles I , his successors were pushed to the east sometime in the reign of Eucratides II and were more or less confined to Badakshan.⁴ With the accession of Mithridates II in c. 124 the situation improved; it seems that the Scythians were quelled and moved southward through Merv and Herat to Seistan, where they probably met the descendents of an earlier Scythian people already mixed with the Parthians. Mithridates II's campaign against the Scythians probably occurred some time later than 120 B.C., by which date his task of reducing Babylonia had been accomplished.⁵ Surely the Scytho-Parthian

1. Debevoise, op.cit., pp. 37-38

2. Kuwabara, op.cit. , pp. 28-29 ; also Haloun, op.cit., p. 248

3. supra., p. 170

4. supra., pp. 171 ff

5. Debevoise, op.cit., p. 40

or the Pahlavas had no opportunity to rise again in the life-time of Mithridates II, when Sacastene was governed by the Parthians. But the recalcitrant Scythians who had arrived in Seistan and were good warriors, and against whom two of the predecessors of Mithridates II had perished, were probably not quiescent for long and on the death of Mithridates II in c. 88 B.C. they may have found an opportunity to declare themselves independent under the leadership of a Pahlava Vonones. In 91 B.C. a Gotarzes (I) had set himself up as an independent ruler in Babylonia and thus the Parthian kingdom was weakening at this period. This date would also fit in very well with the chronology adopted by us, for, as we shall see, Azes overstruck coins of Apollodotus and Hippostratus and the latter was ruling in Western Gandhāra according to our calculations, in c. 85-70 B.C.². And Azes, who struck a coin with Spalirises³, can only be a generation later than Vonones, whose brother Spalirises was.

We may note here that Strabo speaks of a Parthian conquest of Bactria from the Scythians⁴. Probably it refers to this period, when Mithridates II was able to defeat the Scythians⁵ and dislodge them from ~~the~~ western parts of Bactria^{of} which they ~~had been~~ were in possession. Unfortunately we have no evidence to show how long Mithridates II continued to possess ~~the~~ those parts of Bactria. But certainly the Yüeh-chih, ~~who~~ who were immediately north of the Oxus, were a menace to any kingdom situated to the south of the river and as we have seen

1. Debevoise, op.cit., p. 48

2. Infra., pp. 238 ff., 244. Nicias died c. 85³. PMC., p. 144
and Hippostratus succeeded him.

4. Strabo, XI.9.2.

5. cf. also Lohuizen, op.cit., p. 37 f.

they ~~¶~~ crossed the Oxus about 100 B.C. to rule Bactria directly.

The third important date concerns the Śakas. When the Sai left the Upper Ili in c. 160 and their kings moved south they founded several kingdoms. The first new settlement made by them in their progress southward must have been not far from their original kingdom, and probably at least the nucleus of a state was formed by about 155 B.C. The final achievement, however, was the conquest of Chi-pin, which by its geographical situation and distance must have involved a considerable time; thus Maues, the first known Śaka king in India, followed the Yavana rulers in the Swat valley and Gandhāra, as we shall see below, soon after 100 B.C. The Chinese sources tell us of a certain Mu-Kua in Ferghana who was attacked by Chinese troops in c. 102.¹ The resemblance in name proves that both Maues and Mu-kua were Śakas.

Although it is outside the scope of our present work to discuss the problem of the eras of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, it is important for us to arrive at a date for Maues' rule in the Swat and Gandhāra regions. The Maira inscription which is supposed to give the date 58, is ~~xx~~ usually considered the earliest dated document of the Śakas,² but

1. Hirth, pp. 108 ff., 136

2. Konow, CII. p. 11; Lohuizen, op.cit., p. 23

this is not justifiable. The reading of the ~~numerals~~ numerals in this inscription is not at all certain, and Maira in the Jhelum district is one of the southernmost finds of a Kharoṣṭhī inscription - the other being the Sui Vihar inscription near Multan. The inscription is very badly preserved and Konow himself was unable to determine the age of the inscription on a palaeographical basis.¹ On the other hand, the Mansehra and Fatehjang inscriptions are both very clearly dated 68², and this should be taken as the earliest known and certain date on a Śaka document. Another inscription, the Shahadaur inscription of Damījāda which is far better preserved than the Maira inscription, and which mentions the word Śaka may give us a date 60.³ If this is correct this would be the earliest date on a Śaka document; it is significant also that the word Śaka occurs in it. Shahadaur is in the Hazara country and thus it would also fit well geographically. But the most remarkable coincidence is that the word Dami in Kharoṣṭhī occurs on the coins of Maues besides the monogram.⁴ It is very likely that the Dami on Maues' coins is only an abbreviation of Damijada the person mentioned in the Shahadaur inscription. This inscription therefore gives the first known date 60 (?) of Maues in the Hazara country.

We accept the theory according to which these early Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions would be dated in an era beginning about the middle of the second century B.C.⁵ Mme Lohuizen has recently tried to make a drastic

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1. Konow, CII., p. 11
 2. Konow, ibid., pp. 18-22
 3. Konow, ibid., p. 13 and cp. plates.
 4. PMC. p. 102, no. 28 ; BMC. pp. 68-71
 5. Rapson. CHI p. 570 ; Tarn, pp. 494 ff.
Marshall. Taxila. I. p. 45.

simplification by accepting only one era for all the kharoṣṭhī inscriptions¹ which earlier authorities believed to be dated in at least two eras.² She makes that era start in 129 B.C., which, she believes was the date of the conquest of Bactria by the Yüeh-chih, who, in her opinion, were Śakas. But we have shown earlier that there is no reason to believe that the Yüeh-chih were Śakas, and that there is no certainty that Bactria was occupied by the Yüeh-chih in 129-28 B.C. We have also shown that the movements of the three different peoples are quite different.³

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1. Lohuizen, op.cit., pp. 64-65
 2. There are many theories about the number of eras used in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, but at least two are widely accepted, namely, an Old Śaka Era and an Azes-Vikrama era. We are not concerned here with the Kaniṣka or Śaka era.
 3. Dr. Lohuizen's chronological system raises many difficulties, the greatest of which is her sequence of Śaka-Pahlava kings. It is clear that in order to solve one difficulty she has been forced to create others. Her theory which takes Azes I, Azilises and Azes II as one king and Spalyris-Spalirises also as one is not convincing; on purely numismatic grounds alone their separate existence cannot be denied. Similarly, she is forced to regard the Śaka kings of Mathurā and even the Deccan satrap Nahapāna as earlier than Maues, which seems impossible both historically and geographically. (cf. also, A.L. Basham, BSOAS. 1953, pp. 82-84)

We are still inclined, therefore, to date such inscriptions as those of Shahadaura, Mansehra, Fatehjang and the Taxila Plate of ~~Ex~~ Patika in an era ~~xxx~~ starting in about the middle of the Second century B.C. The modification we would like to propose is the occasion and origin of the era, for which there are two possibilities. The earliest inscriptions are found in an area where the Śakas coming from the north first established their power, and that area was taken from the Yavanas. It is possible that there was an era already in use in that region. ~~The~~ the Yavanas knew the use of an era is clear from the traditional chronology by Olympiads, and, nearer to our period, from the existence of a Seleucid era. It is not inherently improbable that the greatest of the Yavanas kings, Menander, started an era of his own; his date we have fixed as c. 155 B.C. The use of the ~~F~~ Greek months by the Śakas and later rulers points to the conclusion, that they employed a system of dating started by their predecessors. And the Bajaur inscription seems to contain a date, which is unfortunately lost, before the name of king Menander.¹ Alternatively we may ~~suggest~~ suggest that following the earlier practice of the Yavanas, the Śakas based their ~~xxxxxxx~~ era on the date of the establishment of their first new kingdom, ~~xxxxx~~ sometime soon after their dispersal from the Upper Ili, and that year, as we have shown², may also have been c. 155 B.C. Whichever of these possibilities we accept, the fact remains that the era in question must

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1. Ep. Ind. XXIV. pp. 1-8. (cf. p. 7. "----Minadrassa maharajasa katiasa divasa 44411 pra(na)-(sa) me (da) ----")
 2. Supra, p. 227

have started about 155 B.C. Of the two possible origins of the era we are , however, inclined to prefer the first and we may call it the Yavana era started by Menander.^{1.}

The Shahadaura, Mansehra, Fatehjang and Taxila Plate inscriptions are thus dated respectively in 95, 87, 87 and 77 B.C. There is another Inscription, the Muchai inscription,² which is dated in 81, i.e. 74 B.C. but we are doubtful whether it can safely be ascribed to Maues' reign. The Taxila Inscription of Paṭika mentions the name of Moga (Maues)³ and surely ~~it~~ seems to belong to the last years of his reign, for by that time a new generation of kṣatrapas, of which Paṭika was one, had succeeded the generation of Liaka Kusulaka. Keeping the doubtful Muchai inscription also in view the last year of Maues' reign may be taken as 75 B.C. In 95 B.C. ~~his Kṣatrapa~~ Damijada ~~was~~ ^{the} of Shahadaura inscription probably his Kṣatrapa, who also stamped his initials on the money of Maues, was governing the Hazara country. Maues must therefore have started his career some time before this date, and the variety of his coinage⁴ may allow him a reign of more than twenty years. It is more than probable that his reign started soon after 100 B.C. the date we have roughly given for the overthrow of Antialcidas in Takṣaśilā by Apollodotus.⁵ This historical coincidence is quite suggestive. It seems that Apollodotus was pre-occupied with the dynastic struggles of the Yavanas in Gandhāra, Kabul and Ghazni regions and by the time the climax of his success was

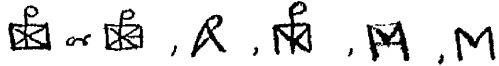
1. Cf. also, F.W.Thomas, JRAS., 1952, p. 111

2. Konow, CII., p. 29

3. Fleet, JRAS. 1907 pp. 1013 ff. who does not think that Moga of Taxila Plate is identical with Maues of coins.

4. g. PMC, pp. 98-103. (24 types are listed)

5. Supra., p. 202

reached in the overthrow of Antialcidas, his hold in the Swat and Hazara countries must have slackened to give way to the adventurous Śaka king Maues. That ~~this~~ happened in the reign of Apollodotus is supported by the fact that Maues frequently used such monograms  in common with Apollodotus,¹ and the square copper money of Maues bearing the Apollo-Tripod device can easily be mistaken for the coins of Apollodotus of the same type, but for the difference in legend.² Moreover, the only square silver issue of the Śakas and the Pahlavas in India is that struck by Maues,³ which indicates that he was not far removed in time from Apollodotus and Philoxenus the king of the preceding generation, who were the only Yavanas to strike square silver money ; and this square money has been noticed in the Swat valley.⁴

But Apollodotus , who thus lost some parts of his kingdom to Maues , was still in possession of a considerable area, and with the occupation of Takṣaśilā, he thought himself in a position to supplant his elder brother Strato I, even in the regions east of the Jhelum, to which the latter had probably already been confined, as a result of Antialcidas' occupation of Takṣaśilā. The coins of Apollodotus which have been found in the regions east of the Jhelum are closely associated in all respects with the coins of Zoilus II, Dionysius and Apollophanes.⁵ These three kings probably succeeded Apollodotus in



1. Cp. BMC. and PNC. s.v. Apollodotus and Maues.

2. PNC. Pl. X. 18 ; BMC. Pl. XVII. 7

3. IC. 1890 : Pl. V. 3

4. The Bajaur Hoards contained the square drachms of Apollodotus.

5. Cf. BMC. and PNC. under their names and cp. plates. Also, *supra*, p. 163.

the regions of Jammu and Sialkot, ~~where they are found~~ where their coins are found,¹ and they seem to have filled the interregnum of about fifteen years in the exceptionally long reign of Strato II. All these three kings use in common the monograms  and .² They may have ruled in the order we have mentioned them, for Zoilus II seems to be the first, because he overstruck one of the Apollodotus' coins.³

The last king of this group in that small kingdom whoever he may have been, seems to have been overthrown by Strato I~~II~~ probably with the assistance of Strato II, who may have been his young and vigorous grandson.⁴ It is also likely that he was helped by Maues, who by this time had driven a wedge between the two kingdoms of the Yavanas by occupying Takṣaśilā and confiningⁱⁿ one to the east of the Jhelum and the other to the west of the Indus. There are some crude drachms of Strato I where he figures as an old man with his name alone in the legend⁵ but there are others where he is associated with Strato II in the legend and which represent Strato I as still older.⁶ These coins are few in number and probably, therefore, the reign of Strato I after his restoration lasted for only about five years. The easternmost kingdom of the Yavanas thus came to an end in about 75 B.C.

1. supra., p. 167

2. BMC. pp. 51-54

3. Tarn., p. 319.

4. Rapson, Corolla Numismatica, pp. 254-55, has shown that Strato II was a grandson and not a son of Strato I.

5. PMC. Pl. V. 361

6. PMC. Pl. VIII. 643, cf. Plate Appendix. Pl. III. 11

After taking possession of the Swat valley and the Hazara country, Maues occupied Takṣaśilā. The Taxila copper Plate of Paṭika, according to our theory dated in 77 B.C., refers to Kṣatrapa Liaka Kusulaka and his son Paṭika. If Damijada of the Shahadaura inscription is identical with the person who gives his initials as Dami on some coins of Maues, we get probably ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the name of another Kṣatrapa of Maues. Liaka Kusulaka was a Kṣatrapa in Cukṣa (Chach, "a broad alluvial plain in the north of the Attock District, alongside the Indus")¹ and Damijada was probably in * Abhisāra (the Hazara country)². The fact that Damijada stamped his name on the money of Maues and that Liaka Kusulaka minted his own coins³ indicates that these satraps enjoyed the same administrative power and political status as the sub-kings under the Yavana hegemony. The conquest of Takṣaśilā by Maues must have occurred before 77 B.C., if this is the date of the Taxila Copper Plate, and if the Shahadaura inscription is dated in 87 B.C., we may suppose that Maues occupied Takṣaśilā about 85 B.C. This would be quite in accord with our chronology of the Indo-Greek kings according to which Apollodotus died in c. 95 B.C. The gap of ten years between these two events would be filled, as far as


1. Marshall, op.cit., I., p. 48

2. The Shahadaura ~~xxxxxxxx~~ inscription in the Agror valley "points to the conclusion that the Hazara country belonged to the old Śaka empire." (Konow, CII., p.13)

3. For Damijada, cf. BMC, pp. 68-69, 71, Pl. XVI, 3, 6, XVII, 3 ; PMC., p. 10 No. 28.

For Liaka Kusulaka, cf. CHI. Pl. VIII, 42

Takṣaśilā is concerned, by the short reigns of Telephus and Hippostratus before the latter succeeded Nicias in Western Gandhāra after being expelled from Takṣaśilā probably by Maues.¹

The coinage of Telephus bears the monograms  which never occur on ~~known~~ other Yavana coins but are found on those of Maues.² It is generally agreed that he was associated with Maues in time and place since there seems to be no ~~possibility~~ possibility of his being the successor of Maues he must have been his predecessor in some region. Tarn thought, on the basis of 'Zeus enthroned' type of Telephus' coins that he ruled in Kapiśā⁴ and on this basis he also connected Maues with the Kabul valley.⁵ But no coins of Telephus have come from the Kabul valley and the 'enthroned Zeus' type has no connection with Kapiśi;⁶ moreover, we have no other evidence of Maues' rule in the Kabul region. Among the limited number of Telephus' coins known at present most have come from Gandhāra;⁸ his coins were also found in the Taxila excavation and one coin was noticed in the Hazara district.¹⁰ Undoubtedly he did

1. cf. infra., p. 239

2. Whitehead, NS. XIV., p. 561, NC. 1923 p. 337
cp. coins of Telephus and Maues in BMC and PMG.

3. Whitehead, op. cit. p. 337 ; Tarn, pp. 332-33, 496-97

4. The identification of the deity on the 'Kaviṣiye Nagara' coin with Zeus was unchallenged until 1947, 'Zeus enthroned' was therefore generally connected with Kapiśa.

5. Tarn, pp. 332-33

6. cf. supra., p. 102

7. cf. infra., p. 245.

8. NC. 1947, p. 31

9. Marshall, op. cit., II. p. 767

10. JASB. 1898 p. 130 ; NC. 1923 p. 337

not rule in the Kabul valley. Out of three types he used on his coins two have the 'enthroned Zeus' on the Obverse¹ and he may^{thus} have belonged to the group of Antialcidas. It seems after the death of Apollodotus he avenged the defeat of Antialcidas and re-occupied Takṣaśilā for a short period. Some of the strange devices on his coinage like "the serpent-footed giant"² and "a squatting male figure"³ led Tarn to believe that Telephus was a usurper and even to doubt that he was a Greek.⁴

The last years of Apollodotus must have been full of activity and vigilance because of ^{the} Saka danger and it was evidently necessary to strengthen his power by consolidating his kingdom as best as he could. He had probably removed Strato I on account of ^{the} latter's inefficiency, and we have suggested that Apollodotus was succeeded by Zoilus II, Dionysius and Apollophanes in the Jammu-Sialkot region, until Strato I was reinstated ^{probably} with the help of Maues.⁵ Apollodotus may also have appointed sub-kings who belonged to other family groups, in order to gain their support. One of them may have been Nicias of the family of Antimachus II and Philoxenus, whom we have placed before Hippostratus, who was almost certainly the last of that group.⁶

1. PMC. Pl. VII.640, NC. 1923, pl. XVII, 5,6.

2. PMC. p. 80 ; BMC. Pl. XXXII. 7

3. NC. 1923. pl. XVII. 6.

4. Tarn, p. 333. Cunningham (CASE, p. 296-97) thought that "the giant with the snaky legs may possibly refer to Scythes, the son of Heracles and Echidna according to Herodotus, or of Zeus and Echidna according to Diodorus, who was the eponymous hero of the Scythian nations." He suspects some Scythian connection through the mother's side. Marshall points that the giant holds a lotus stalk and that he is a Yakṣa (cf. Taxila. II p. 836)

5. cf. supra, p. 233

6. cf. supra, p. 181

The silver money of Nicias as far as is known at present is found only in Western Gandhara¹ though his copper coins are found in the Jhelum area.² According to Whitehead his ^{silver} coinage is associated in type, style and monogram with Western Gandhara.³ Tarn's statement that except for the unique drachm Nicias struck only copper coins⁴ is incorrect because Newell had already illustrated one tetradrachm bearing 'helmeted Pallas facing, striding to l. with upraised r. arm brandishing a thunderbolt.'⁵ The statement that the coins of Nicias are only found in the Jhelum region⁶ is now shown to be untrue and therefore the view that his kingdom lay somewhere on that river⁷ lacks support. It is remarkable that no coins of Nicias have been found in Takṣaśilā, and we fail to understand why Dr. Whitehead thinks that the 'horseman' copper of Nicias which bear no monograms " may be placed at Takṣaśilā or farther east, with the silver money of Hippostratus, perhaps at the shadowy Bucephala ".⁹ We believe that the indications are rather in favour of ~~Gandhāra~~ placing Nicias in charge of some parts of Western Gandhāra than in areas east of the Indus. Even if he at first controlled

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1. NC. 1950 ,p. 209
 2. NC. 1940 ,p. 109
 3. NC. 1923 , p. 334 ; NC. 1940 , loc.cit.
 4. Tarn ,p. 327
 5. Royal Greek Portrait Coins,p.72 Pl. XI. 12 ; also, NNM 82.,pp. 93-94, Pl. VI. 57
 6. CHI. p. 547 ; Tarn.,p. 328
 7. Tarn, loc.cit.
 8. Marshall, op.cit., II. pp. 766-67
 9. NC. 1950 ., p. 210

some parts of the Takṣasīlā area he was soon overthrown by Telephus. The coins of Nicias are , however , not abundant , and he probably reigned for only about ten years after Apollodotus' death, ie. up to 85 B.C.

The appearance of a head of Poseidon with trident on the obverse and a dolphin twined round an anchor on the reverse of a copper coin of Nicias¹, which is also closely connected with a similar type of Hipposstratus where Triton holds a dolphin and rudder,² is believed by Tarn to signify the celebration of a naval victory on the Jhelum river probably against the Śakas.³ We have discussed earlier the doubtful connection of Poseidon with naval victories.⁴ But apart from that, it does not seem likely that a naval engagement could have taken place on the Jhelum in view of the speed of its current and the absence of material for building boats except in its upper reaches.⁵ Alexander had actually brought the few boats by road from the Indus.⁶ On the other hand the alternative suggestion of Tarn is more probable though he himself does not favour it." It might be suggested that, if Nicias was a descendent of Antimachus I through Antimachus II he was merely copying his type."⁷ This would support our family grouping on the basis of coin-types.

1. NC. 1923, Pl. XVI. 14 ; BMC. Pl. XIII.12

2. NC. 1923, Pl. XVII.4; PMC. Pl. VIII, 631 ; BMC, Pl. XIV.6

3. Tarn, pp. 328 ff.

4. cf. supra., p. 79

5. Burn, JRAS, 1941, p. 65. He also notes that in the history of the next two thousand years there is no record of naval battles on any of the three rivers above Multan.

6. Arrian, V. 8

7. Tarn., p. 328.

X Hippostratus, who is very closely associated with Nicias,¹ must have succeeded him in Western Gandhāra. On the basis of the distribution of his coins Whitehead placed Hippostratus in the Peshawar and Hazara districts,² but it is strange that the coins of Hippostratus in Takṣaśilā are very scarce,³ a fact which is particularly striking in view of his comparatively abundant coinage. However, it is not unlikely that he controlled some areas east of the Indus for a time, but his main kingdom probably lay west of the Indus for the major part of his reign. His coins have been found in Punch with those of Azilises⁴ and it is likely that both types travelled there at a later time, when the Pahlavas occupied the whole of Gandhāra and areas to the east of it. In General Haughton's list, with the exception of Hazara, all the places mentioned in connection with the coins of ~~the~~ Hippostratus are west of the Indus.⁵ Whitehead has also reported, on the testimony of W.S. Talbot, that silver tetradrachms are not found in the Jhelum district and therefore he objects to the theory of Tarn that the 'City' coins of Hippostratus were struck at Bucephala,⁶ which Tarn places on the east bank of Jhelum and considers to have been the capital of Hippostratus.⁷ If the 'City' silver issues of Hippostratus, which

1. Cf. supra., pp. 180-81

2. NC. 1923., p. 338 ; NC. 1940., p. 110

3. Marshall, op.cit., II., pp. 766-67. Only six coins of Hippostratus are listed.

4. NC. 1923., p. 338

5. NC. 1943., p. 58

6. NC. 1940., pp. 110-11 ; Tarn, pp. 326-27

7. Tarn., loc.cit.

consist almost entirely of tetradrachms , had been struck at Bucephala it is strange that they are not found in the regions east of the Jhelu river.

The coins of Hippostratus have ~~been~~ drawn the attention of ~~se~~ scholars for more than one reason. His tetradrachms are comparatively abundant¹ and they are commoner than drachms. Tarn conjectured , therefore, that this presupposes an increased trade with the western world², but this theory did not find favour with Burn who thought that the rise of the Śakas and Pahlavas stood in way of such trade.³ It is noteworthy that Hippostratus' coins are not found in any number in the Kabul or Ghazni regions;⁴ had there been a brisk trade with the western areas we should expect some indication of it in the geographical distribution of his coins.

Two other kings, Artemidorus and Peucolaos, form one group because of their common type, Artemis.⁵ Their coins are rare, and indicate short reigns, probably as sub-kings.⁶ Their coins are totally absent from the regions of Takṣaśilā and Ghazni.⁷ But the monograms used by these kings are different,⁸ and they may have ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ been also among the sub-kings of Apollodotus in different parts of his kingdom; ~~and~~ they may ~~xxxx~~ have survived him to rule in those parts as

1. Whitehead. NC. 1923, p. 304; NNM. 13 ., p. 25 ; Tarn, p. 330

2. Tarn., p. 330

3. Burn, JRAS. 1941 , p. 66

4. cf. supra, p. 167 chart.

5. cf. supra., p. 164

6. Tarn, p. 316

7. cf. Chart on p. 167 supra. Cf. also, Marshall, op.cit. II pp. 766-67; Schlumberger, pp. 73-79

8. Artemidorus :  ,  ,  ,  ; Peucolaos :  , 

ephemeral kings. On their rare tetradrachms the portraits are remarkable for their stark realism.¹ Artemidorus and Peucolaus, according to Tarn, are associated with Puṣkalāvati both by their types and their names,² but it seems from the geographical distribution of their coins that Peucolaus also ruled in the Kabul valley,³ whereas Artemidorus was confined to the Peshawar region.⁴

Tarn thought that Artemidorus' rule in Puṣkalāvati was certain and that his immediate successor was certainly Maues.⁵ But he has adduced no evidence other than a reference to Rapson, which he accepts as conclusive. The latter, however, only says⁶ that, "the kingdom of Puṣkalāvati was wrested from the Yavanas by the first Saka king Maue who imitated the types of Artemidorus, Artemis: Indian Bull." This is not conclusive, for the two respective pieces of Artemidorus and Maues are quite different in shape, style and monograms.⁷ The Artemis of Maues is clearly taken from some other source.⁸

Besides the Artemis of Artemidorus, Peucolaus also used 'Zeus standing' on his silver coins.⁹ It is difficult to arrange Artemidorus and Peucolaus in genealogical order, but Peucolaus seems to have lived longer and ruled a wider area than Artemidorus. Both seem to belong, however, to the period 95 B.C. to 85 B.C.

1. NC. 1947, p. 47, Pl. II.4; NC. 1923, p. 324, Pl. XV.4

2. Tarn., pp. 315-16

3. Whitehead, NC. 1923, pp. 324-25

4. NC. 1943, p. 59

5. Tarn., p. 316 and fn. 2.




6. CHI., p. 558

7. Cp. PMC. Pl. VII.555 and Pl. X. 10. For the latter cf. also BMC., Pl. XVI.4; NC. 1940, p. 97

8. Whitehead, NC. 1940, loc.cit.

9. NC. 1923 . Pl. XV.4

Maues' occupation of Takṣasīlā must have resulted in the isolation of the kingdoms of Apollodotus' successors, one of which was east of the Jhelum and the other west of the Indus. With the Indus-Jhelum doab in his possession Maues might have expanded either to the west or to the ^{est}_{est}. The evidence of his coins would indicate that if he extended his power beyond Takṣasīlā it was to the west; his coins are scarcely to be found east of the Jhelum,¹ where he probably supported the claim of the deposed king Strato and helped him to gain power.² With his rear thus protected he may have crossed the Indus to the west and occupied some parts of western Gandhāra.³ Probably he did not occupy the whole of that region for Hippostratus, who seems to have been the last ruler there, was evidently finally overthrown by Azes I, who overstruck his coins⁴ and used some of his distinctive monograms;⁵ the latter is known to have also overstruck a coin of Apollodotus who was a predecessor of Hippostratus.⁶

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1. CHI pp. 554, 570, Maues did not conquer the Eastern Punjab
 2. cf. supra., p. 233
 3. Liaka Kusulaka was a Kṣatrapa of Cukṣa and Cukṣa probably included some parts of Western Gandhāra, cf. Marshall, op.cit., p. 48.
 4. CHI pp. 554, 572. cf. PMC pp. 122-3, BMC pp. 59, 73.
 5.  ,  , 
 6. CHI pp. 554. ~~844~~.

The defeat of Hippostratus in Western Gandhāra by Azes I brought about the fall of the Yavana power east of the Kabul valley. Azes I evidently followed Maues in Takṣaśilā, though there may have been a short gap between them¹, and they were evidently not related.² In fact, they belonged to the two distinct families, the Śakas and the Pahlavas.² Numismatic evidence makes it clear that Azes I was related to Spalirises³ and there may be some truth in the suggestion that he was a son of the latter.⁴ It is also proved from the coins that Spalirises and Spalyris (Spalahora) were brothers of Vonones.⁵ Spalyris predeceased Vonones, who was succeeded by Spalirises.⁶ We have shown that Vonones achieved power in c. 88 B.C.; probably he was an old man at the time, for he did not strike any coin on which he alone was mentioned. His brothers could not have been young because Spalagadame the son of his brother Spalyris was old enough to occupy a place in the reverse inscription of some of the coins of Vonones.⁷ The coins of Spalirises as king in his own right are very rare, which suggests

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1. cf. also, Konow, JH. XII. p. 20; Tarn, p. 349; contra. Marshall, Taxila I. pp. 48-51
 2. cf. supra., pp. 220 ff
 3. PMC, Pl. XIV, 395, 396; CHI., p. 573
 4. Rapson, CHI. p. 573; Tarn, p. 347
 5. Cp. the coin-~~types~~ legends on their coins. PMC. pp. 141-43
 6. Otherwise the coins of Vonones with Spalirises and those with Spalagadames son of Spalahora become meaningless. Moreover, it is Spalirises who alone struck coins as 'king of kings' (PMC. pp. 142-44)
 7. PMC., p. 142. Pl. XIV, 382-385

that he did not survive Vonones for more than a few years. In such circumstances it is quite reasonable to suppose a duration of fifteen years for the reign of Vonones and his brithers because it involves actually one generation , and in which probably all concerned ~~xxx~~ were past middle age at leats. And therefore Azes I came to throne probably about 73 B.C. This would fit in well with our chronology of Maues , who died c. 75 B.C. , and Hippostratus, whose reign probably ended in c. 70 B.C.¹

At length we come to the account of the fall of the Yavanas in their last stronghold, the Paropamisadae and other other isolated enclaves north of the Hindu Kush.

Amyntas, whom we have shown to belong to the group of Antialcidas,² may not have succeeded him immediately. Tarn supposed a considerable gap between Antialcidas and Amyntas.³ In this gap he would put first a Pahalava occupation of the Kabul valley and then Maues' conquest, which was preceded for a brief period by the reign of Telephu. He further believed that Amyntas superseded Maues " somewhere round about 60 B.C." and that Hermaeus can not have come x to the throne " later than about 50 ". Though we accept the possibility of some gap between Antialcidas and Amyntas, we do not believe that it was one of about 40 years as Tarn would have us believe. Apart from the fact x

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1. *If he came on throne in c. 85 (cf. supra pp. 238-39) he may have ruled for fifteen years.*
 2. *cf. supra, p. 167*
 3. *Tarn ., p. 331 f.*

that there is nothing in the coins of Amyntas to suggest such a long interval between him and Antialcidas, we have already shown that Maues did not conquer even the whole of Western Gandhāra,¹ and the question of his occupation of the Kabul valley, therefore, does not arise. But for one ~~xxxx~~ stray specimen coins of Maues have never been noticed in the Kabul valley.² It is unlikely that any king of the family of Vonones conquered the Paropamisadae at this time, for again we find hardly any money of the predecessors of Azes I in that region. Moreover, Spalyris and Spalagadames, whom Tarn supposes to be kings in question, are not known to have issued any extensive coinage, and they did not strike coins as 'king~~s~~ of kings', as other rulers of that family did; they were never more than 'Joint-kings'. And even the coins of Spalirises, who did issue as 'king of kings', found in the Kabul ~~k~~ valley number only two or three.

Tarn has, however, ignored these facts in favour of unsafe deductions from the Chinese sources, ~~made by accepting the certainty of~~ ⁵ ~~their~~ identifications of Chinese names³ proposed by Gutschmid⁴ and Wylie⁵.

1. cf. supra., p. 242

2. Cunningham noted, "not a single specimen, to my knowledge having been found in the Kabul valley..", Coins of The Sakas, p. 2. Hackin noted that only some coins come in to Dealers at Jalalabad. But cf. Whitehead, NC. 1950, p. 206 ~~xxx~~, who remarked that the first piece of Maues was found at Kabul. But there it ends, because as far as we have been able to ~~check~~ the coins of Maues are not found in the Kabul valley; odd finds of stray coins are no evidence. Dr. Whitehead's remark about the coins of Azes in the Kabul valley is, however, true. Schlumberger's account of Mir Zakah hoard also list only one coin of Maues as against thousands of Azes.

3. Tarn., pp. 339 ff.

4. Gutschmid, pp. 109-10

5. Wylie, p. 36

which are by no means conclusive.

In the Ch'ien Han Shu,¹ there is a story that W'ou-ti-lao, king of Chi-pin, killed some Chinese envoys. But after the death of W'ou-ti-lao his son (whose name is not given) sent an envoy to China to make peace. Wen Chung, the Chinese general at the Barrier, was sent to escort the envoy back home. W'ou-ti-lao's son plotted to kill Wen Chung but the latter discovered this and allied himself with Yin-mo-fu son of the king of Yung-kiu. The two attacked Chi-pin and killed W'ou-ti-lao's son, and Yin-mo-fu was installed as king of Chi-pin. Subsequently in the reign of Yuan-ti (48-33 B.C.) Yin-mo-fu killed the escort of a Chinese envoy and sent an envoy to China to excuse himself, but Yuan-ti took no thought for such a distant land.

In this story Tarn, accepting Gutschmid and Wylie, identified Yin-mo-fu with Hermaeus, Chi-pin with Kabul, Yung-kiu with Yonaki, W'ou-ti-lao with "adelphou" on the coins of Spalyris, i.e. "king's brother" Spalyris, and W'ou-ti-lao's son with Spalagadames.² Apart from the fact that other identifications have also been suggested by other scholars³ and that Chi-pin cannot be Kabul,⁴ W'ou-ti-lao cannot be



1. Bk. 96 A, Wylie pp. 35-36


2. Tarn., p. 340 ff.




3. Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde*, II, p. 409 thought W'ou-ti-lao was Gondophares; Cunningham, *NC* 1890 pp. 9 ff. read Yin-mo-fu as Miao; Kennedy *JRAS* 1912 p. 685, made him Kaniska or a viceroy of his; Herrmann, s.v. Sakai in *Pauli Wissowa*, made him Maues and W'ou-ti-lao as Agathocleia.

4. cf. *supra.*, p. 217

identified with Spalyris simply because the name is supposed to be identical with " adelphou ". Even for a moment granting this identity there is no ~~xxxx~~ reason to believe that it must refer to Spalyris , and not to Spalirises or to Gondophernes' brother whose son was ~~x~~ Abdagases, known from coins to be Gondophernes' nephew. Moreover, "adelphou" was not the name of a king , and if Yin-mo-fu in the story is a proper name why should/W'ou-ti-lao also be a proper name rather than a title. None of the varied suggestions for the identification of W'ou-ti-lao and Yin-moefu seem to us to be ~~xxxxxxx~~ convincing; the question, fortunately has no very important bearing on our subject.

The interval between Antialcidas and Amyntas need not be a long one. But it is almost certain that there must have been a small gap between them because the monograms used by Amyntas are not those which generally occur on the money of Antialcidas; and on the other hand at least two of his monograms  .  are quite distinctive and used in common with Hermaeus alone.¹ The close proximity between Amyntas and Hermaeus is also suggested by their common use of a peculiar type, a bearded male bust, radiate, in a Phrygian cap.² Tarn has suggested that Amyntas was probably the father of Hermaeus.³ Certainly Amyntas was a predecessor of Hermaeus and followed Antialcidas on the throne after a short interval. This is quite reasonable if, as we believe

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1. Cp. BMC., Pl. XIV.10 (Amyntas) and pp.64-65 (Hermaeus) ; PMC. Pl.VII 636 (Amyntas). An unpublished coin of Amyntas in BM (ex Cunningham) has  and cp. this on the Attic tetradrachm of Hermaeus in Plate Appendix ~~IV~~ ^V 4 ., also PMC. p. 82, No. 652 for Hermaeus.
 2. PMC. VIII. 637 (Amyntas), IX. 679 (Hermaeus)
 3. Tarn., p. 331

for some time after the death of Antialcidas Apollodotus was reigning supreme ~~over all~~ Antialcidas' kingdom except the regions north of the Hindu Kush, where, following the overthrow of Antialcidas, Theophilus who took the peculiarly suggestive title of Autocratos, ~~may~~ have seized power for a short period.¹ But some time after the death of Apollodotus and when his kingdom had begun to disintegrate in consequence of the Śaka attack, Amyntas managed to re-establish his power. He may have overthrown Theophilus north of the Hindu Kush and then crossed south to occupy the Kabul valley. We have suggested that some sub-kings of Apollodotus survived him and governed parts of his kingdom, but, except Peucolaus, we can not place any such sub-king in the Kabul valley. Peucolaus himself probably had a short reign; we suggest, therefore, that Amyntas superseded Peucolaus about 85 B.C. almost at the same time as Maues' occupation of Takṣaśilā. This probability is supported by the fact that the monograms   used by Peucolaus² are also employed by Amyntas. Five remarkably large silver coins, which are double Decadrachms, bearing two types, "Helmeted bust of king and Zeus enthroned, and "Helmeted bust of king and ~~Demeter~~ Demeter enthroned" have recently been found, and these bear the monogram .³ The overthrow of Theophilus and Peucolaus and the recovery of parts of Antialcidas' kingdom led to the re-establishment of the power of Amyntas, who

1. supra., p. 188

2. The monograms of Peucolaus are limited in number.

3. They were illustrated by Bivar in ^{Spinks} Numismatic Circular, May 1953 (vol. LXI, no 5, p. 201) and by us in JNSI. 1953, p. ~~XI~~. 1-2 cf. also Plate Appendix. Pl. V. 2-3

probably struck these medallions in order to commemorate his achievement. They are not only the largest silver coins in any Greek series but also the bust of the king is artistically second to none on Greek coins. The title Nikator adopted by Amyntas also indicates some victory ; if Theophilus' title Autocratos ~~can~~ indicates his rebellion¹, that of Amyntas probably shows his triumph over the rebel ; both these epithets are unique in the Indo-Greek series.

Coins of Amyntas have been found in Western Gandhāra² and he may have extended his control in that direction. But it would seem that sometime between Antialcidas and Amyntas, an ephemeral prince Diomedes managed to control parts of Western Gandhāra, probably at the death of Apollodotus.³ He is one of the least discussed kings of the Yavanas ; Tarn said nothing about him except that he was one of those who ruled in the long gap he supposed between Antialcidas and Amyntas.⁴ Although he did not adopt the Zeus type of the family of Eucratides I which became the main type after the death of the latter, the use of the 'mounted Dioscuri charging' type by Diomedes surely connects him with that family. The adoption of this type by Diomedes may tempt us to

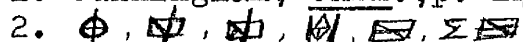
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1. cf. supra., p. 188 . Tryphon was the only person in the Seleucid series to have taken this epithet and he was an usurper, cf. Henri Seyrig, Notes on Syrian Coins, NNM. 119, New York, 1950., p. 12 ; also BMC. Seleuci p. 68, pl. XXVIII.9 . Tryphon's date 142/141 (his first year) should be noted.
 2. NC. 1943., p. 56
 3. cf. supra., p. 197 . Eucratides (III ?) who overstruck Apollodotus' copper may also have done so in that period.
 4. Tarn., p. 315

suggest with Cunningham that he was probably a son of Eucratides¹ but the monograms² used by him definitely link him with the later kings, and stylistically, too, ~~xxxxxx~~ his coins can be placed between Antialcidas and Amyntas. The bulk of his money has been noticed in the Western Gandhāra region.³ His copper coins bear the rare type of 'standing Dioscuri and bull'.⁴

The 'enthroned Zeus' type of Amyntas which connects him with the Antialcidas group, is singular in having a Pallas instead of Nike on his hand⁵ and the other type which Amyntas used on his coins is also Pallas standing hurling^a thunderbolt,⁶ as on the coins of Menander and some of his successors. The appearance of Pallas on Amyntas' money and the 'king on prancing horse' type on Hermaeus' coins⁷ probably suggests that the last descendants of Eucratides I and the successors of Menander or Antimachus I joined hands against the all-surrounding danger of the Śakas, the Pahlavas and the Yueh-chih, and the old suggestion⁸ that the marriage of Calliope to Hermaeus was the result of such an alliance may still be correct.

Coins of both ~~xxx~~ Amyntas and Hermaeus are found in many areas where, in all likelihood, they did not rule. Amyntas, as would appear from his portraits,

1. Cunningham, CASE., p. 240

2. 

3. NC. 1943, p. 57. Only one coin is recorded in Taxila, II., p. 667, and in the Mir Zakah Treasure also there was only one coin, Schlumberger, p. 76

4. PMC. p. 37, Pl. IV. 220

5. It has usually been described as Nike (BMC., p. 61; PMC., p. 78) but this is obviously a mistake; Zeus never holds Nike on Amyntas' coins.

6. NC. 1923, Pl. XVI. 9; BMC. Pl. XIV. 9

7. CHI., p. 560; Tarn, p. 337. It was first suggested by Cunningham,

8. CASE., pp. 298-99. cf. infra., p. 258

re-established his power when he was approaching middle age, and he does not seem to have ruled long. Probably his reign lasted for some ten years and he was succeeded by Hermaeus in c. 75 B.C.

The evidence of numismatic epigraphy has been used to determine the chronology of this period,~~xxxx~~ which also affects the date of Hermaeus. Rapson's dictum that the occurrence of the square omicron □ on a Parthian or Indian coin is an indication that its date is not earlier than c. 40 B.C.¹, has been generally followed by scholars. But he also noted that the ^gsquared forms of the Greek letters □, Γ, Λ are characteristic of certain regions but are not found in others.³ And while discussing the coins of Vonones to whom he ascribes a late date, Rapson is constrained to remark that this epigraphical test cannot be applied in this particular instance.⁴ In spite of the ~~xxx~~ obvious difficulties of this evidence Bachhofer has taken pains to discuss it in elaborate detail:⁵ " □ indicates a date later than ca. 40 B.C., but it must be borne in mind that the round ○ was constantly used after the date ; Γ indicates a date later than ca. 40 B.C., as it appears first under Mithridates III (56-55 B.C.) and regularly from

1. CHI. pp. 571-72

2. Tarn, p. 325 ;
Bachhofer, JAOS, 1941, pp. 232 ff.

3. CHI. p. 572 fn . 1

4. Ibid., p. 573

5. Bachhofer, JAOS. 1941, pp. 233 ff.

the later years of Orodes II (55-38/7 B.C.). But ¹(Σ) was used beside it, down to Gondophernes' reign, for there is a coin of him which uses Σ, instead of C with ω. ω points either to the years around 10 A.D., or to the end of Gondophernes' time. The same holds for the letters C, O, E. ω indicate the period ca. 10-40 A.D. " But in the elucidation which follows this, Bachhofer himself has to admit that "the state of things looks more muddled than ever".² Surely as many instances can be cited against Bachhofer's rules as in favour of them. To take only a few where we may be fairly certain about dates : On a coin of Antialcidas, who cannot be put later than 90 B.C., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ is written ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC;³ Nicias, who can not be considered later than Hippostratus⁴, used C, ω, □ and C ω O besides the normal forms⁵ - are we to take him, therefore, a contemporary of Gondopharnes who also used these forms ?;⁶ the name of Zoilus Soter/^{is} written as ΖΩΙΛΟΥ,⁷ but can we date him around 10 A.D. or still later ?; Vonones and

1. In Bachhofer's article the space to include a letter, presumably Σ, is empty.

2. Bachhofer, op.cit., p. 234

3. PMC. Pl. III. 172 ; Whitehead, NC. 1950, p. 209

4

4. cf. supra., pp. 180-81, 239

5. PMC, pp. 73-74

6. PMC., pp. 146, 150~~551~~ - 152.

7. PMC., pp. 67

Spalyris have ΣΩΟ and so have Vonones and Spalagadames,¹ but Spalyris and Spalagadames of the same generation have also ΓΩΓ.² On the coins of Hermaeus square letters do not generally occur, except on those which bear the legend Σ ΤΗΡΩΣΥ, though there are exceptions.³ Bachhofer has noted in a footnote, "it seems that in the former centres of Greek power and culture, in Kapisa and the cities of the Punjab, the older, correct lettering held out longer than in the border states where the cursive forms were more readily accepted for coin-legends."⁴ This is again somewhat curious. Why and how did the Parthian coins influence the lettering of the Indian coins of the 'border states' only and not of the money which circulated in the main centres of trade and culture where there was more likelihood of the two currencies meeting. It has been noticed that the knowledge and use of Greek differed sharply according to locality even in the homeland of the Oriental Greeks.⁵ In fact, Greek linguistic influence outside the centres of culture was variable and complex.⁶ Our attention has been drawn by ~~XXX~~ Tarn and Altheim to the early sporadic usage of a square Γ in Greek inscriptions.⁷ Our conclusion is that the square

1. PMC. pp. 141-42

2. PMC. p. 143

3. e.g. PMC. 650

4. JAOS. 1941. p.

5. NC. 1944, p. 104

6. Whitehead, NC. 1950, p. 209

7. It had appeared sporadically at Athens from the 3rd. century B.C. and there is an occurrence of it at Susa in an inscription of 98 B.C. Tarn, p. 326.

forms are adopted either for the sake of variety or through inadequate knowledge of the Greek literary tradition on the part of some of the coin-engravers.

The coins on which the names of Hermaeus and the Kuṣāṇa king Kujula Kadphises are found in association have long been adduced as evidence in any discussion on the ~~ex~~ chronology of this period and the date of Hermaeus. It was first supposed that they were actually 'Joint-issues' and that Hermaeus was immediately succeeded by Kujula Kadphises. But long ago Prof. F.W.Thomas suggested that there was an intermediate period between Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises during which the Pahlavas were in the possession of Kabul.² This led Rapson to give up his own view and to accept that of Thomas as almost certainly correct.³ Since then this has been the general opinion of ~~the~~ scholars, including, among others, Tarn⁴ and Marshall.⁵ Even Konow, who was at one time inclined to think that those coins indicate an alliance between Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises some time after A.D. 25,⁶ abandoned this untenable theory later.⁷ The earlier theory, which had been generally given up has been revived by ~~some~~ ^{some} recent writers,⁸ the only difference being

1. Rapson, Indian Coins, p. 16

2. JRAS. 1906, p. 194 fn. 1

3. CHI. pp. 561-62

4. Tarn, op.cit., p. 338 ff

5. Marshall, op.cit., p. 52

6. Konow, CII., p. lxiii.

7. JIH. XII. p. 29

8. Lohuizen, op.cit., pp. 362-64 ; Ghirshman, Bégram, pp. 120-21

that instead of dating Hermaeus late she has put back the date of Kujula.¹ But her chronological scheme is closely connected with her theory of one era of 129 B.C. which as we have shown elsewhere, is not acceptable.² The fact remains that there was a considerable gap between Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises. One explicit statement in the Chinese sources seems to ~~not~~ settle the matter conclusively. The Hou-Han Shu says,³ "Kao-fu was never dependent on the Yüeh-chih, and it is therefore a mistake of the Han book (ie. CH'ien Han Shu) when it includes it between the five Hsi-hou. Later on it fell ~~x~~ under the dependency of An-hsi (Parthia), and it was when the Yüeh-chih triumphed over An-hs: that they for the first time took Kao-fu." This makes it certain that the Kuṣāṇas took the Kabul valley from the Pahlavas and not from Hermaeus, and we come to the irresistible conclusion that it was to the Pahlavas that Hermaeus lost his kingdom south of the Hindu Kush.⁴ This Pahlava conquest will be discussed below.

It is likely, that Hermaeus lost ~~some of his~~ his possessions north of the Hindu Kush to the Yüeh-chih earlier in his reign, perhaps to an ancestor of Kujula Kadphises.⁵ When Kujula

1. Lohuizen, op.cit., p.362

2. supra., p.229

3. Bk.88

4. CHI pp.561-62, Tarn, pp.338 ff, Marshall, op.cit. p.52
also, Bachhofer, JAOBS, 1941., p.239-40

5 He may have been Heraos, whose coins have been much discussed. Cf. for his coins, PMC. pp. 163-64. Pl. XVI. 115. The Greek legend on the coin reads TYANNOY HAN KU IAN NOY; the last word may be interpreted as 'Kushānou'. In exergue there occurs a word which has been variously read as ΣANAB and ΣAKA.

conquered the Kabul valley from the Pahlavas, he struck coins with the obverse of Hermaeus' last issue and a reverse with the type of Heracles¹ which had been adopted earlier by the ~~Pahlavas~~ Pahlava kings also.² Tarn thought that an ancestor of Kujula, probably his grandfather, had married a relative of Hermaeus, and in issuing those coins Kujula was commemorating his relationship to the last Greek king.³ Tarn believed that the ancestor of Kujula in question must have been Hefaus.⁴ Bachhofer, on the other hand, thought that Kujula imitated those currencies which were best known and most readily accepted, striking pieces with the head of Augustus for the same reason.⁵ It must be admitted, however, that there is no evidence to

1. PMC. pp. 178-79

2. Both 'standing Heracles' and 'seated Heracles' were used by the Pahlava Kings on their coins. Cf. PMC. pp. 124, 138, 141 and 143.

3. Tarn, p. 343

4. Ibid., p. loc. cit.

5. JAOS. 1941, p. 240

This has been the usual view but cf. Allan in Shorter Cambridge History of India p. 74 which has been generally neglected by later writers (recently Dr. Basham has noticed it in BSOAS, 1953 p. 89). Allan's judgement that the coin-type concerned is more indebted to a coin of Claudius (41-54 A.D.) than ~~x~~ to one of Augustus seems to us convincing after our own examination of the respective coins. If this view is accepted it will invalidate any theory which puts the beginning of Kujula's reign in c. 25 or 30 B.C. (e.g. Lohuizen, op. cit., p. 364) unless of course we admit a reign of 90 years, which is absurd! On the other hand this will strongly support the theory of a gap between Hermaeus and Kujula, unless we are prepared to put the end of Hermaeus' reign at least in the 1st. quarter of 1st. century A.D. which is too late. This would also accord very well with our theory that Bactria proper was occupied by the Yueh-chih about 100 B.C., for then the date of Kujula according to the Chinese sources according to which more than one hundred years had passed after they ~~x~~ totally occupied Bactria and divided the country into five hsi-hou when Kujula set himself on the throne) would be in the first decade of the 1st. century A.D. and thus he could very well have ruled up to 60 A.D.

support Tarn' idea ; and the fact that Kujula issued coins with the bust of a Roman Emperor strengthens Bachhofer's view.

The large and widespread coinage of Hermaeus attests a substantial kingdom. But the suggestion once made that his rule extended even as far as the Jhelum¹ is doubtful.² It seemed incredible to Tarn that Hermaeus could have been strong enough to take Gandhāra from the Śakas, but it is generally agreed that Hermaeus ruled over the whole of the Paropamisadae.⁴ That he still commanded some influence ~~xxxx~~ in isolated enclaves north of the Hindu Kush, at least in the beginning of his reign is borne out by the testimony of a newly discovered Attic tetradrachm,⁵ ~~struck by him~~³. The remarkable treasure of Mir Zakah near Ghazni contained about a thousand coins of Hermaeus⁶ and there is no doubt, therefore, that he ruled in Upper Arachosia contiguous to the Kabul valley. But the evidence is not so strong for his authority over Takṣaśilā or eastern Gandhāra. None of his silver money has been discovered in the Takṣaśilā excavations⁷ and ~~the~~ 263 ~~out of~~ of his copper coins found there are of the type 'Bust of king and Nike'

1. Gutschmid —————→ p. 109; Whitehead, NC. 1923, p. 340

2. Marshall, JRAS 1914, p. 981, Taxila, II., p. Tarn., p. 337

3. Tarn, loc.cit.,

4. Rapson, CHI., pp. 560-62 ; Tarn., pp. 331 ff

5. The unpublished Kunduz hoard. Cf. Appendix ~~three~~^{III} for the description and Plate Appendix, Pl. V.4

6. Schlumberger, p. 79

7. Marshall, Taxila, II., p. 764

bearing the legends ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΥΘΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ and Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Heramayasa ; and "were evidently not struck by Hermaeus but by one of the Śaka or Parthian rulers."¹ Tarn has attributed them to Kujula Kadphises and explained them as propaganda coins,² but Bachhofer has shown that this theory of Tarn is "too subtle to be acceptable"³ and Marshall has rightly noted⁴ that "the style of the engraving as well as the legends and monograms point to an earlier date. There may be some truth, however, in the suggestion of Tarn that Hermaeus was in touch with ~~xxx~~ the kingdom of Hippos-tratus, since he married Calliope, a princess in her own right "(who) can only have come from Hippos-tratus' kingdom"⁵ because the Joint-issues in the name of Hermaeus and Calliope bear the type of Hippos-tratus and Nicias, "King on prancing horse". It is probably his relationship with Hippos-tratus and his kingdom which accounts for the finds of Hermaeus' coins in the Mohmand border and near Peshawar;⁶ it is also likely that before Hippos-tratus was overthrown by Azes I in Gandhāra, he had entered into some alliance with Hermaeus against the common danger to which

1. Marshall, op.cit., II. p.764

2. Tarn., pp. 503 ff.

3. JAOS. 1941., p. 240 , and cf. supra., p. 245-47

4. Marshall, loc. cit.

5. Tarn, p. 337. But the assertion of Tarn that Hermaeus did not use the type of 'king on prancing horse', which is based on CHI, p. 560 , is wrong (cf. Whitehead, NC. 1940, p. 113) , and ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Tarn, who accepts the mistake later in his addenda, p. 535 , maintains " that Calliope must still have come from Hippos-tratus' kingdom, for there was nowhere else,..... and she was presumably Hippos-tratus' daughter."

6. NC. 1943, pp. 54, 59 ;

ultimately they succumbed.

Rapson's view¹ that the coins of Hermaeus "extended over a long period" has generally been accepted,² and Bachhofer³ admits that the portraits of Hermaeus "permit one to follow him from youth to old age, though they gradually lose in quality." It is fair to assume a reign of twenty years at least for him ; his rule must have ended, therefore, in c. 55 B.C.

The conquerors of the Yavana kingdom of the Paropamisadae were the Pahlavas and not the Kuṣāṇas .⁴ According to Rapson⁵ the evidence for this was " the coins which were struck by Spalirises with the characteristic type of the Yavanax kings of Kabul, " Zeus enthroned" and he thought that " a coinage bearing his name and his types was issued by (the Pahlavas) until a much later date in the same way and for the same reasons that the R East India Comapny continued for many years to strike rupees bearing the name of the Mughal emperor ,Shah Alam." Tarn took this up and advanced the theory that

1. CHI . , p. 561

2. Whitehead, NC. 1923 p.340 ; Tarn, pp. 337, 350

3. JAOS., 1941, p. 239 fn.

4. Hou Han shu. bk. 88 , cf. supra p. 255.

5. CHI . pp. 561-62

it was Spalirises who put an end to Hermaeus' kingdom and that he conquered the Paropamisadae;¹ we must note, however, that Rapson, on whose ^{idea} this theory of Tarn is based,² does not commit himself to the theory that Spalirises conquered Hermaeus' kingdom. We have shown that it is not possible to support the view that Spalirises conquered the Paropamisadae,³ and we must repeat that the 'enthroned Zeus' is not the type of Kabul⁴, and the fact that Spalirises used this type does not necessarily connect him with that region. The 'enthroned Zeus' was popular rather in Gandhāra than in ~~Kāpīśā~~ Kapiśā, from the reign of Antialcidas onwards. Its use by Hermaeus probably indicates that he belonged to the family of Antialcidas. Spalirises' coins are not numerous and 'Zeus enthroned' occurs only on his square copper money.⁵ Marshall also finds a difficulty in accepting this conclusion of Tarn, which implies⁶ that Spalirises, whose coins are not common even in Arachosia, and are not found at all at Taxila, was reigning, nevertheless, longer than Hermaeus himself; and they imply also that Azes I could not have become 'great king of kings' until some time after Hermaeus' death.⁶ There seems to be truth in the

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1. Tarn., pp. 347, 350
2. Tarn, p. 350, quotes Rapson, CHI, pp. 562, 574 as his authority.
3. cf. supra., p. ~~240~~ 245
4. cf. supra., p. 102
5. PMC., p. 144
6. Marshall, op.cit., p. I., pp. 51-52

suggestion of Marshall that it was Azes I who "actually annexed that country (Paropamisadae) after the downfall of Hermaeus."¹ But the matter does not end here.

Cunningham ~~asserted~~ asserted, on the basis of Masson's pioneer explorations that not a single coin of Azes was obtained from Begram.² But Masson did in fact get coins of both Azes and Azilises at Begram. Among the two plates of coins of "Azus" illustrating James Prinsep's paper³ some were definitely found by Masson. The name Azes was first read on a coin from Kabul⁴ and Masson himself found a coin of Azilises there⁵. In Masson's Second Memoir⁶, we find mention not only of Azilises, but also of Azu I and II; this was a remarkable anticipation! Whitehead, who cleared up this misapprehension about the distribution of the coins of Azes' and Azilises,⁷ has also noted, "coins brought by J. Hackin from Begram were on view at the Musée Guimet, Paris, during the Oriental Congress of 1948; they included eleven large silver Azes, four of type Zeus Nikephorus, six Pallas to right (two with the same monograms as PMCat, p. 115, 154), and one Poseidon to right."⁸ Hackin's map showing the geographical distribution

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1. Marshall, op. cit., I., p. 52
 2. JASB, 1836 p. 547, Cunningham, Coins of the Sakas., p. 8,
 3. JASB, 1835, p. 327 Pl. XXII-XXIII
 4. JASB, ~~op. cit.~~ 1835 p. 343
 5. JASB, 1836 p. 547
 6. JASB, 1836 p. 19
 7. NC, 1947, pp. 39-41; NC, 1950, pp. 206-7
 8. NC, 1950, p. 207

of coins also attests the presence of coins of Azes in the Kabul region. And this, we are informed, is also the experience of Bivar who has spent two seasons in Afghanistan.

But the coins of Azes' are not as common and plentiful in the Kabul valley as they are in Arachosia (including Ghazni) and in Gandhāra (including Takṣaśilā). This indicates that Azes I did not rule in the Paropamisadae for the same long period as he did in Arachosia and Gandhāra. We may suppose, therefore, that Azes I conquered the Paropamisadae only after the death of Hermaeus in c. 55 and during the last years of his own reign, which probably did not end before c. 50 B.C.; because of his extensive coinage we must assign at least more than twenty years rule to him. Azes' conquest of Paropamisadae took place after the conquest of Gandhāra, which, as we have shown earlier, occurred at the end of Hippostratus' reign in c. 70 B.C. This implies that Azes I followed the Kurram valley route¹ from Ghazni to Gandhāra. The coins of Hermaeus have been found in large numbers in the Mir Zakah Treasure as well as those of Azes, which are found in thousands in Ghazni²; it is likely, therefore, that Azes took Upper Arachosia from Hermaeus, confining the latter to the Paropamisadae. Instead of attacking Hermaeus in the Paropamisadae, where he may have been strong, Azes I first took Gandhāra. Holding Ghazni in the south and Gandhāra in the east Azes I could then easily take the Paropamisadae.

1. Cf. Map, No. III

2. Schlumberger, pp. 79-80

by a pincer movement. In the north Hermaeus had probably already lost his isolated enclaves to the Yüeh-chih, and thus we may imagine his kingdom in the Kabul valley as a forlorn island amidst the surrounding deluge of hostile powers. This reconstruction also explains the rarity of the money of the Pahlava predecessors of Azes I in the Kbaul valley to which we have referred to earlier.

Thus Hermaeus was the last Yavana king. With the end of his reign ended the story of two hundred years, in which there reigned 39 kings and two queens. It is the story of the rise of an advehturous people to fill the vacuum created by the absence of a great power ; when in ~~x~~ course of time, new people came on the scene, one had to give ~~away~~ way to the other. The Yavanas, who were hemmed in from all sides, could not hold their own for long, but were doomed sooner or later to collapse. Their kingdom fell and their proud ruling families merged with the mingled racial stocks of North West India, until all traces of them were miserably lost.

APPENDIX I.

YAVANA, YONA, YONAKA ETC.

In the early Indian sources the Indo-Greeks were known as Yavana. This word, if it is assumed to be Indian, can be derived in three ways. Firstly, from / yu = 'keeping away', 'averting' (dveṣo yavana)², signifying one who is disliked. Secondly, from / yu = 'mixing, mingling',³ (i.e. Yauti miśrayati vā miśrībhavati sarvatra jātibhedābhāvāt iti yavanah)⁴, implying a mixed race. Thirdly, from the meaning, 'quick', 'swift'; a swift horse,⁵ (i.e. Yavena gacchatīti yavanah),⁶ denoting those who have a quick mode of conveyance.⁷ These derivations taken together may indicate that the Yavanas were thought of as a mixed people, who had a quick mode of conveyance and who were disliked as aliens and invaders⁸; These derivations are, however, comparatively recent.

1. cf. supra., pp. 1-10

2. Monier Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 1899, p. 848.

3. Ibid., loc.cit.

4. Rajendra Lal Mitra, JASB. 1874, p. 253

5. Monier Williams., loc.cit.

6. K.R. Pisharoti, IC. II. p. 574.

7. Cf. also Harṣacarita., p. (ed. by A.A. Führer, Bombay, 1909 p. 269),
".... Yavananirmiteṇa nabhastalayāyinaṁ yantrayānena" The
Buddhaswamin's version of Somadeva, (ed. F. Lacote, Paris. 1908),
canto V., "..ākāśayantrāṇi punaryavanāḥ kila jānate... ."

8. However, the Indians on the other hand also recognised the merits and accomplishments of the Yavanas, cf. remarks like, sarvajñā yavanāḥ 'the all-knowing Yavanas', in Mahābhārata, VIII. 45.36

Of the Sanskrit Yavana, there are other forms and derivatives, viz., Yona,¹ Yonaka,² Javana,³ Yāvana,⁴ Jonon or Jonaka,⁵ Ya-ba-na,⁶ etc. Yona is a normal Prakrit form from Yavana and ja- is a well known Prakritism for Skt. ya-.⁷ Tarn has, however, tried to derive Yonaka independently from a form ' Ἰωνάκος ', which " though unknown in Classical Greek, existed at this time in the current Hellenistic Greek of the Farther East."⁸ This is not only unconvincing but also unnecessary. It has been pointed out that it was a usual Indian practise to add -ka to ethnic names;⁹ it is often expletive in Sanskrit. ~~Gonda~~ Prof. Gonda has rightly noted that, " as a means of forming thematic stems -ka was very productive and as such it was repeatedly used to aryanise foreign words or to make them fit to be inflected as Aryan nouns."¹⁰ But

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1. Inscriptions of Asoka, Rock Edicts. II, V, XIII.
(Hultzsch, CII, vol. I. pp. 2, 8, 23)
Majjhima Nikāya, II, p. 149 ; Dīpavaṃśa, VIII. 9 ; Mahāvaṃśa, XII. 5, and XXIX. 39. Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan,
ed. by Rapson, Boyer & Senart
Oxford. 1920-23 ; Cf. Thomas, JRAS. 1924, p. 672
 2. Milindapañho, pp. 1, 3, 19-20 &c. ; Mahāvaṃśa, XII. 4 ; Dīpavaṃśa, VIII. 7
 3. Pravacanasāroddhāra, p. 445 B ; Prajñapaṇā Sūtra, p. 64
cf. for other references from Jain Prakrit sources, Abhidhāna-rājendrap. 1430
 4. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary, pp. 447-48
 5. Pisharoti, IC. II. p. 574 . Jonon or Jonaka still in current use in the Western coasts of India, in the sense of a foreigner. In Tamil the form is Coṇaka and in Telugu it is Dzonangi.
 6. The Tibetan form. .
 7. Pischel, Grammatik D. Prakritsprachen, p. 175 § 252
 8. Tarn., pp. 416-18. This view met full approval of Mrs. Bazin-Foucher, JA. 1938, p. 507
 9. Johnston, JRAS. 1939, p. 226 ; Allan, Marshall's Taxila. II. p. 863; Tarn, Addenda (2nd. edn) p. 538, also admits that Profs. Sten Konow and H.W. Bailey, told him of this usage in their letters.; cf. also J. Gonda, Mnemosyne, IV. series, vol. II. pp. 45-46 . And cp. such examples as Madraka, Kambojaka, Tamraliptaka, etc.
 10. Gonda, op.cit., has also given some Iranian examples of this usage. In O.P., the Korpes are called Krkā and for O.P. Hindu the M.P. is Hinduk .

Tarn has not revised his opinion in the second edition of his book ; he asks, " why before the Greeks came, did Asoka call Greeks Yonas, while after they came, the Milinda calls them Yonakas ? ", although he admits that he probably went too far in speaking of the current Hellenistic Greek of the East.¹ His persistence is probably due to the fact that he imagines that the form Yonaka appears only in the Milindapañho², and also because he does not suppose that the word Yavana, which would be its original form in Sanskrit could have been known before Alexander, long before his 'Greeks' came.³ But WE have already shown that the form Yonaka does occur in other places in Pali literature of known antiquity,⁴ and not only in modern works like Śāsanavamsā of ^{The modernity of} which Tarn rightly complains,⁵ and so it is not peculiar to Milindapañho. And further Yonaka does not replace Yavana or Yona, but is just one of its various forms, all of which, even Sanskrit Yavana, are used indiscriminately in Pali sources.⁶ Quite pertinently does

1. Tarn., p. 538 (Addenda)

2. Ibid., p. 416 and specially fn. 6

3. Ibid., p. 538, where he supposes that Asoka used the word Yona before the Greeks came. He ignores the possibility that the word could have been derived from Yavana a form already known to Pāṇinī cf. also, supra., pp. 1-3

4. cf. supra., p. 265. For dates cf. B.C. Law, History of Pali Literature. 2 vols. ~~Calcutta~~ London. 1933

5. He notes p. 418, " ... not the only time in this period that a modern work has been quoted by somebody as ancient authority."

6. We have already given references to Yona and Yonaka; for Yavana cf. Milindapañho, pp. 327, 331. For indiscriminate use compare the following instances: Yonalokaṃ and Yonakalokaṃ (Mahāvamsa. XII.5 and Dīpavamsa. VIII.9); Yona Mahādhammarakkhita and Yonaka Dhammarakkhita, names of the Thera (Mahāvamsa. XXIX. 39 and Dīpavamsa. VIII. 7). The three forms, Yavana, Yona, Yonaka, are all used in the inscriptions found in Western India, e.g. Nasik, Junnar, Karle etc., cf. Otto Stein, IC., I., pp. 343 ff., who collects all references to Yavanas in early Indian inscriptions.

Prof. Gonda answer Tarn's query ^{by pointing out} that it is ^{equally} as difficult to settle why one author used the name Madraka and ~~xxx~~ why another preferred Madra.¹

Tarn has also suggested that Yonakas in the Milindapañho has a specific meaning, " they are really his Council - the ordinary council of every Hellenistic king, which in another aspect was his 'Friends' - is not in doubt ; the number 500 is of course conventional" ² It is true that numbers such as 500 in the Pali works are almost invariably used conventionally, but it is surely too much to think that ~~xxxx~~ the Yonakas ~~xxxx~~ meant ministers or Councillors.³ Not to speak of references in the Dīpavaṃśa and Mahāvāṃśa where the word is explicitly used as an adjective of names and places, even in Milindapañho. Pt. I., what can be the meaning of " atthi Yonakānaṃ nānā-
ṇṇṇ puṭabhedanaṃ Sāgalannāma nagaraṃ" ⁴ Surely Sāgala was not a city of the Ministers or Councillors, who opened their bags of merchandise. Then we read of Yonaka statues, holding lamps among the decorations used by the Sākyaans in Kapilavatthu,⁵ and also of the Yonakas who went about clad in white robes because of the memory of

1. J.Gonda., op.cit., p. 47

2. Tarn., p. 418. cf. also p. 267.

3. Cf. also Gonda, loc.cit., Even if we believe with Tarn that the author of Milindapanho knew some Greek and had adequate knowledge of 'the Council of the Yonakas', it is very curious to know that this Council was called in Greek by that name.

4. Milindapañho., p. 1.

5. Majjhimanikaya Aṭṭhakathā, (Āluvihara series, Colombo,) vol II.p.575, ~~xx~~ teste., Malalasekare, Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, II.p.699
We have been unable to find this reference in the PTS edition.

religion which was once prevalent in their homeland.¹ Moreover, in the Milindapañho Pt. I., we find the ministers referred to by the usual word 'amacce', when the king addresses them.² Thus Yonaka is only a variant of Yavana-Yona with the same meaning. To find in it the hypothetical Hellenistic 'Ἰωνικός is unwarranted and unnecessary. One may rather agree with Prof. Gonda, that " the form Yonaka may be considered as an Indian and Iranian derivative, and the Hellenistic Greek of Bactria etc. will have taken it from these languages."³

The earliest Indian form known is, Yavana , attested in Pāṇinī.⁴ It was suggested by Belvalkar that the word Yavana, where -va stands for an original Greek φ , must be at least as old as the 9th. century B.C. because the digamma was lost as early as 800 B.C.⁵ But as Skold has pointed out,⁶ the digamma was dropped at different times in different dialects ; in the Ionian dialect it may perhaps have vanished only a short time before the earliest inscriptions which are of the 7th. or perhaps 8th. century B.C. ⁷ It is very difficult , however, to say whether the Indians took the word Yavana directly from the Greeks or

1. Anguttaranikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Manorathapūraṇi), S.H.B. edn., vol. I., p. 51, ".... Kassapadasabalassa kira kālato paṭṭhāya Yonakānaṃ seta-
vatthaṃ parupitva caraṇaṃ carittāṃ"

2. Milindapañho, p. 19., " atha kho Milindo rājā amacce etadavoca.. ."

3. J. Gonda, loc. cit.

4. Pāṇinī., 4.1.49

5. S.K. Belvalkar, Systems of Sanskrit Grammar, p. 17

6. Hannes Skold, Papers on Pāṇini and Indian Grammar in general, p. 25

7. Skold., loc. cit.; cf. ~~Albert Thumb, Handbuch der Griechischen~~
~~Dialekte, revised by E. Krieger, p.~~

from some intermediate language. It is necessary here to consider the forms used in the trilingual inscriptions of the Achaemenids which are three : (i) the old Persian, Yauna (ii) the Elamite, ia-u-na, and (iii) the Akkadian (Babylonian), ia-ma-nu .¹ It has sometimes been thought that the Prakrit form Yona was derived from the Old Persian Yauna , that it was an earlier form than the Sanskrit Yavana , and that the latter is a back formation in Sanskrit.² But there is no need for this supposition, since the Sanskrit form could very well have been derived from the Akkadian ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ia-ma-nu . ~~xxxxxxxx~~ It is well known that in the Akkadian version of the Achaemenid inscriptions -ma stands for -va according to a peculiar sound law or perhaps an orthographical rule,³ and there are numerous examples.⁴ Thus the Akkadian form ia-ma-nu presupposes the form with the digamma 'ΙάϜων whereas the former must be traced back to 'ΙαοϜες where the digamma is dropped. This is also the case with Hebrew , Yāwān.⁵ Hence there is no warrant for taking Yona as an earlier form. One might conclude

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1. R.G.Kent, Old Persian, p. 204 ; H.C.Toleman , Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts, p. 119.
 2. Allan, Marshall's Taxila, II. p. 863
 3. Skold, op.cit., p.25
 4. e.g., Darayavaus = Da-ri-ia-mus, Vidarna = U-mi-da-ar-na, Vivāna = U-mi-ma-na. cf. Kent, op.cit. under different heads.
 5. C.C.Torrey, JAOS. XXV. 1904 ,p. 302 f.

from the correspondence of O.P. Yauna - M.I.A. Yona , that there existed an old form * Yona older than Yavana . But this equivalence of sounds applies to inherited words coming independently from an Indo-Iranian source, which Yavana is not, being a loan word. At best one can say that both Yavana and Yona are borrowed from the West, i.e. the Persians and the Semitic peoples. But the fact remains that historically the first known form in extant Indian literature is Yavana and not Yona, and Yona can be a normal Prakrit replacement of the Sanskrit Yavana .¹ Of course, the possibility is not excluded that the immediate source of the word may have been the Greeks including the Ionians who were already settled in regions to which Pāṇinī's knowledge could have very easily extended. We have shown that the settlements of Greeks existed in the eastern parts of the Achaemenid Empire long before Alexander.²

1. Curiously in a Mahābhārata passage (Poona edn. Vol. XV. Śāntiparvan, XII. 200.40) ~~the~~ form Yāuna occurs , "... Yauna Kamboja Gandharah kirāta barbaraiḥ" But in fn. the variant readings from two Mss give Huṇa.

2. Cf. supra., pp. 3-10

APPENDIX II.

Notes On The Y U G A - P U R Ā N A

The Gārgī Saṁhitā, a work on astrology, contains a section named the Yuga-Purāṇa,¹ which contains some historical information, including among other matters the story of the attack on Sāketa and Pāṭaliputra in which the Yavanas took part. Scholars are almost unanimous in regarding the Yuga-Purāṇa as the earliest among the extant works of Purāṇa type and as exhibiting an independent tradition.² It is also thought that the existing text, in Sanskrit with traces of Prakritism, goes back to a historical chronicle written either in Prakrit or in mixed Sanskrit-Prakrit, which Jayaswal dates in the latter half of the first century B.C., and this has not been questioned.³ Since its publication the Yuga-Purāṇa has always been used as one of the sources of the Yavana history in India.

In 1865, Kern first published three excerpts from a Ms. of the Yuga-Purāṇa in his possession (henceforward referred to as K);⁴ these three excerpts are the lines 80-97, 113-117 and 124-129 of the complete

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1. Kern, The Brhat-Saṁhitā, Preface., pp. 35-40
Jayaswal, JBORS. XIV., pp. 397-421 ; XV., pp. 129-35
Mankad, JUPHS. XX pp. 32-48, later his monograph Yugapurāṇam.
 2. J.F.Fleet , JRAS. 1914, p. 795, called it historically worthless but gave no reasons.
 3. Jayaswal, JBORS., XIV., p. 399
 4. Kern, loc.cit.

text as now available from Mankad's edition.¹ These lines were re-printed by Weber² and were used by Sylvain Levi³ and Cunningham⁴ in their works connected with the Yavanas. In 1914 Jayaswal found a Ms. of the Yuga-Purāṇa in the Asiatic Society of Bengal (henceforward referred to as A) and published his results,⁵ but it was only in 1928 , when he obtained another Ms. in Banaras Government Sanskrit College (henceforward referred to as B) , that he finally edited the texts with his notes and translation;⁶ in 1929, Jayaswal again published a list of variant readings from a Paris Ms. (henceforward referred to as P)⁷ sent him by Sylvain Levi with ^{the} latter's marginal notes, but Jayaswal's earlier edition was not modified. In 1930, Dhruva reconstructed the whole of Jayaswal's texts with liberal alteration of proper names and, as he admits, free use of conjecture and inference. This was certainly not an edition of the text of the Yuga-Purāṇa and hence we have not considered it seriously for our purposes. Barua also made an attempt to do so in the case of few lines only.⁹ However, the

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1. The text as printed consists of 235 lines or 117 $\frac{1}{2}$ verses in all. cf. Mankad, Yugapurāṇam ., p. 3
 2. Indische Studien, XIII, 1873, p. 306.
 3. Quid de Graecis p.17
 4. CASE ., pp. 262-63
 5. Express, Patna 1914. (I have not been able to see it, cf. however, JBORS. 1928, p. 397)
 6. JBORS. XIV , pp. 397-421
 7. Ibid. XV., pp. 129-35
 8. Ibid. XVI., pp. 18-66
 9. Calcutta Review, April 1945, pp. 24-25

text as prepared and edited by Jayaswal was used by all students until recently, when in 1949 Mankad published a critical edition of the Yuga-Purāṇa with the help of a new Ms. (which he called C, and henceforward it will be referred as C).

The purpose of this present note is to make a comparative study of the printed editions of the text in order to make the best use of the relevant passages; we propose to re-edit the few relevant lines¹ ~~we are concerned with~~, and not to reconstruct^{them} with surmises as was done by Dhruva.²

Out of the five Mss. used hitherto, K is now lost,³ and of the remaining four A, B, and P come from Eastern India whereas C alone comes from Western India. Textually A and P seem to form one group, and B and C another.⁴ The readings in A and P are inferior to those found in B and C, and between B and C those found in C are often superior.⁵ The text as published by Mankad seems to be complete and contains 235 lines, while that edited by Jayaswal contained 1 lines 73-186 of Mankad's version only.

Jayaswal read lines 94-95⁶ as follows:

" Tataḥ Sāketamākramya PañcālānMathurām tathā
Yavanā duṣṭavikrāntā(h) prāpsyanti Kusumadhvajam

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1. I.e. Lines, 94-95, and lines 111-112 of Mankad's version & which are Jayaswal's 22-25 and 40-41)
 2. JBORS. XVI, pp. 18-66
 3. L.D. Barnett informed Tarn, cf. Tarn, p. 453
 4. Mankad, op. cit., p. 2 ; Mankad, op. cit., p. 3
 6. JBORS. XIV. pp. 402

Taking the first line, all the four Mss. A,B,C and P read ' Pañcālā Māthurā' in place of 'PañcālānMathurām', which is adopted by Jayaswal on the basis of K. alone. Jayaswal adopted this because in his opinion the other alternative will mean that the Yavanas came from Pañcālā and Mathurā and because in some later lines the Yavanas are given prominence.¹ Both these reasons are unjustifiable. It is not clear how the adoption of the alternative indicates that the Yavanas were from Pañcālā and Maṭhurā. And the discovery of more Mss. show that in later lines also the variant 'Pañcālā' for 'Yavanā' exists.² And moreover, it would be very natural for the Yavanas to have undue prominence in the account, since they must have been quite conspicuous, because this was probably the first time that a Yavana army penetrated as far east as Pāṭaliputra ; this was also the reason why Patañjali chose ~~picked-up~~ that event for the illustration of a grammatical rule. Jayaswal's authority for his adoption of 'PañcālānMathurām' is Kern's ~~xxxxxx~~ reading, but Kern's version is not a critical edition and we have no means ~~xx~~ of reconstructing his Ms. His quotation of the few lines of Yuga-Purāṇa ,which he rightly thought of historical importance, may have been a restored version on the basis of the knowledge then available; the famous examples of Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya were well known but the importance of the numismatic evidence concerning the Pañcālā and Mathurā kingdoms was not realised. We should not therefore

1. JBORS. XIV., p. 402

2. e.g. the Paris (P) Ms. has Pañcālā in place of Yavanā in line 112.

give the same weight to Kern's readings as we should to those of later editors, especially since other Mss. are available and all of them go against Kern in this particular, ~~no one would adopt readings from Dhruva's brilliantly conjectured restoration of the text~~. And the Ms. used by Kern is unfortunately lost. Once the importance of the coinage of the Pañcālas and Mathura is recognised¹ and^{the} true reading of the Yuga-Purāṇa based on all the available Mss. is accepted we can immediately explain the significance of the occurrence of two kings with Mitra name-endings in the inscriptions on the railings of Bodh Gaya² as well as the discovery of the Mitra coins in the excavations at Pāṭaliputra³. If we adopt the unanimous verdict of the surviving Mss., the apparent geographical anomaly of the passage as edited by Jayaswal, ~~xxxx~~ which describes that the Yavanas after having conquered Sāketa (Sāketamākrām) as attacking the Pañcālāsa ~~and~~ Mathurā in order to reach Kusumdhvaja, will disappear, and it would be intelligible to say that the Pañcālas and Māthuras with the Yavanas (Yavanāśca) after having attacked Sāketa reached Kusum^adhvaja. And accepting 'suvikrāntāḥ' from the Ms. C in place of 'duṣṭavikrāntāḥ' in the next line, we read with Mankad :

" Tataḥ Sāketamākrāmya Pañcālā Māthurā (s)tathā

Yavanāśca suvikrāntāḥ prāpsyanti Kusumadhvajam "

1. Cf. Allan, BMC. Ancient India, s.v Mathura and Pañcālā.
cf. supra., p. 137-40

2. JRAS. 1908, p. 1096. cf. supra., p. 138

3. ASR. 1912-13, pp. 79, 84-85., cf. supra., p. 137

The two lines which follow are edited by Jayaswal as :

" Tataḥ Puṣpapure prāpte Kardama prathite hite
Ākulā viṣayāḥ sarve bhaviṣyanti na saṁśayaḥ "

The phrase 'kardama prathite hite' is difficult to understand. Kern put queries on the words 'kardama' and 'hita'¹, but Jayaswal translated the phrase in the sense of 'mud-fortification' taking the word 'hite' to stand for embankment or dyke after the phrase 'hitābhange' in Manu IX.274.² Mankad, however, pointed out that the word meaning embankment is 'hitā' and not 'hita' in Manu, and therefore in his edition he read hi and te separately, taking te as qualifying viṣayāḥ in l. 97.³ But te seems to us quite redundant in this case, especially when we have sarve following viṣayāḥ in l. 97 itself. We are inclined, however, to accept Jayaswal's interpretation of ~~xxx~~ 'hite'. The word 'hita' can mean, & 'put', 'placed', 'laid upon', 'imposed', 'set up', 'established', 'fixed', 'arranged', 'prepared' etc., and the feminine form of 'hita' is 'hitā'.⁴ Hita can mean, any structure which has been 'laid upon', 'imposed', 'set up', 'established' etc., and obviously the word 'hitā' in Manu is related ~~with~~ to 'hita' of which it is the feminine form. And since the word 'kardama'⁵ is there to guide us, it can only refer to a structure made of mud or clay. Hita probably meant ~~large~~ embankments and hitā small ones; the

1. Kern, op.cit., p.37

2. Jayaswal, JBORS. XIV. pp. 417 . The commentary of Kulluka says
"hitābhange jalasetubhange iti kullukabhataḥ."

3. Mankad, op.cit., p. 48

4. Monier Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Oxford, 1899, p.1298

reference in Manu is to village embankments¹ and naturally therefore 'hitā' is used. The embankments of Pāṭaliputra, the Capital city, must have been big structures, and that is probably why the author uses another adjective, prathite, i.e. 'celebrated'; 'Famous'; to denote the great mud-fortifications of Pāṭaliputra, the remains of which have been discovered in Kumrahar excavations. The defence of the Capital city depended much upon those fortifications, and naturally when the invaders reached it or took possession of it, all the districts ~~क्रिष्यान्~~ ~~क्रिष्यान्~~ (viṣayāḥ) became confused and disordered (ākulāḥ). Making a minor modification in Jayaswal's text we propose to read :

" Tataḥ Puṣpapure prāpte kardame prathite hita "

Lastly, Jayaswal reads lines 111~~112~~ as follows :

" Dharmamīta tamā-vṛddhā janam bhokṣyanti nirbhayāḥ."

Jayaswal translated the passage as, " The Tamā-elders of Dharmamīta (Demetrius) will fearlessly devour the people." ² Neither this reading of the text nor this translation by Jayaswal are convincing. We have shown that there is no ground to take Dharmamīta as Demetrius. ³ And -tamā ~~which is translated~~ which is attached ~~to~~ the first word of the line in all Mss. is surely the superlative suffix of the first word and, ~~it~~ should not be taken as compounded with vṛddhā, in which

1. Manu, IX. 274. " grāmaghāte hitābhaṅge pathi moṣābhidarsane saktito nabhidhavanto nirvasyaḥ saparicchadāḥ "

2. Jayaswal, op.cit., p. 411

3. cf. supra., p. 67-68

case the meaning of -tāmā is doubtful.¹ Though dharmamīta can mean, one whose dharma is destroyed or diminished (from / mī), it seems quite an unusual expression. On the other hand, Mankad's adoption of the reading dharmabhītatamā from Ms. C in place of dharmamītatamā seems quite feasible since the confusion between ma and bha is very common in Mss. Moreover, whichever reading is preferred it must certainly be taken as qualifying vr̥ddhā, and the line will then imply either ^{that} the elders, whose dharma would be completely destroyed, or the elders, who would become too timid to proclaim dharma, would fearlessly rule the people. Obviously this line must be taken with the preceding verses of ^{the} Yuga-purāṇa where the confusion in all regions consequent on the invasion of Pāṭaliputra is described in the most conventional way. We propose to read the line 111 as :

" dharmabhītatamā vr̥ddhā janam bhokṣyanti nirbhayāḥ ."

Line 112 is read by Jayaswal as :

" Yavanā jñāpayiṣyanti (naṣyeran) ca pāṛthivāḥ ."

and by Mankad as :

" Yāvanā jñāpayiṣyanti nagareyam ca (nagare pañca ?) pāṛthivāḥ ."

It was translated by Jayaswal as, " the Yavanas will command, the kings will disappear", and by Mankad as, " the Yavanas will declare five kings

1. cf. Supra., p.67

in the city." Both these versions are strained and unconvincing. In the first version it is not clear whom and what the Yavanas commanded or proclaimed, and the word naṣyeraṇ in brackets , which is a conjectural restoration, seems out of place here. In the second version it is not clear why five kings were declared by the Yavanas, when Mankad himself supports the reading which suggests a three-power attack on Pāṭaliputra. Moreover, there is nothing to suggest that the Yavanas ~~were~~ the leading power among those who invaded Pāṭaliputra. It is worth noting that the Paris Ms. has Pañcālā in place of Yavanā , and if we give any weight to the finds of Pañcālā Mitra coins in the Eastern districts of the Uttar Pradesh and Magadha as against a total absence of Yavana coins, there is no reason why the reading Pañcālā should not be preferred as against Yavanā. Further, Mss. A, B, and P, all have kṣāpayiṣyanti in place of ṣāpayiṣyanti , and nagarayaṃ which makes no sense must be considered a mistake for nagaraṃ ye on the part of the scribe who transposed the anusvāra of one and the medial e of the other, which is not unusual to commit. Thus the ~~xxx~~ reading we would suggest is :

" Pañcālā kṣāpayiṣyanti nagaraṃ ye ca pāṭhivāḥ ."

And this would give quite pertinently the meaning that the Pañcālas and those other kings (who participated in the invasion) destroyed

the city.

It is interesting to note the next lines which follow :

" Madhyadeśe na sthāsyanti Yavana (or Pañcālā)¹yuddhadurmadāḥ
teṣāmanyonyasambhāvādbhaviṣyati na saṁśayaḥ
ātmacakrotthitaḥ ghoram yuddham paramadāruṇam."

Usually it has been understood that these lines refer to an internal struggle of the Yavana families and the suggestion has been made that the struggle between the family of Eucratides and Euthydemus is implied. But we have shown that the old division of the Yavana kings into two families alone do not solve our ~~xx~~ problems and in view of our study of the earlier passages of the Yuga-purāṇa it is needless to support the usual ~~k~~ view. These lines in our opinion refer to the mutual feud which resulted in a deadly war between the participant invaders of Pāṭaliputra.

APPENDIX III.

COIN-Types Of The INDO-GREEK Kings.

* In the following enumeration minor variations of type have not been noted. Complete legends are given at the head of each section but while describing the coin-types they are referred as (a),(b),etc.,

1. DIODOTUS I

Legends. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ANTIOXOY (a)

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ (b)

ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΕΛΗΒΟΥΣ (c)

Α & Α'

1. OBV. Diademed Head of Antiochus II
REV. Zeus striding to l., hurling thunderbolt. (a) ESM. LIII. 4
2. OBV. As on 1.
REV. As on 1. but (b) Haughton Coll.
3. OBV. Diademed Head of Diodotus I
REV. Zeus striding to l., hurling thunderbolt. (a) ESM. LIII. 5-6
4. OBV. As on 3.
REV. As on 3. but (b) CASE Pl. I. 3.
~~PMG. I. 1~~

Α

1. OBV. Bust of Hermes wearing petasus.
REV. Crossed caducei. (a) ESM. LIII. 9
2. OBV. Head of Zeus
REV. Artemis holding torch, running to r. (b) BMC. I. 9

Α only.

1. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r.
REV. Zeus striding to l., hurling thunderbolt. (c) CHI. III. 9
~~CASE.~~

2. DIODOTUS II.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ANTIOXOY (a)

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ (b)

A/ & A-

1. OBV. Diademed head of king (Diodotus II)

REV. Zeus striding to l., hurling thunderbolt, (a) ESM. LIII.

2. OBV. Diademed head of king (Diodotus II)

REV. Zeus striding to l., hurling thunderbolt. (b) PMC. I. 1-2

Æ

1.¹ OBV. Bust of king (or Hermes) wearing petasus.

REV. Pallas facing, spear in r. hand. (b) PMC. I. 4

3. EUTHYDEMUS I.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΕΜΟΥ

A/ & A-

1. OBV. Diademed head of king to r.

BMC. I.10

REV. Heracles with club, seated to l. on rocks.

PMC. I.6,8.

Æ

1. OBV. Head of Heracles

REV. Prancing horse.

PMC. I. 16

2. OBV. Head of Zeus.

REV. Prancing horse.

BMC. II. 8

1. We suggest that the additional type was probably introduced by Diodotus II.

4. DEMETRIUS I.

Legends. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ

Α

1. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. wearing elephant-scalp
REV. Heracles standing to front, crowning himself. PMC. I.18

Β

1. OBV. Bust of Heracles to r.
REV. Artemis standing with bow and arrow. PMC. I.22

5. EUTHYDEMUS II

Legends. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ

Α

1. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r.
REV. Heracles standing to front, holding out a wreath. PMC. I. 27

Β

1. OBV. Indistinct Head.
REV. APOLLO standing, with arrow and bow. Ariana Antiqua p. 227
2. OBV. Laureate head of Apollo
REV. Tripod-lebes PMC. I.32
3. OBV. Head of Heracles to r.
REV. Prancing horse. BMC. III.7

Κ

1. OBV. Laureate head of Apollo
REV. Tripod lebes. PMC. I.29

6. ANTIMACHUS I

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIMAXOY (a)
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΘΕΟΥ ANTIMAXOY (b)
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ANTIMAXOY (c)

R

1. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r., wearing flat kausia.
 REV. Poseidon standing with long trident. (b) PMC. II. 54

R.

AE

1. OBV. Elephant to r.
 REV. Nike standing to l. (a) PMC. II. 59
2. OBV. Elephant to l. or to r.
 sq/ REV. Thunderbolt (a) NC. 1940. Pl. VIII.
 Schlumberger,
 Pl. VIII. 15

R Commemorative Medals.

1. OBV. Diademed bust of Diodotus I
 xREV. Legend. ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ
 REV. Zeus striding, hurling thunderbolt. (c) BMC. XXX. 6
2. OBV. Diademed bust of Euthydemus
 REV. Legend. ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ
 REV. Heracles with club, seated on rocks. (c) BM.

7. DEMETRIUS II.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (a)

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (b)

Maharajasa apaḍihatasa Dimetriyasa (c)

R

1. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r.
REV. Pallas standing, holding spear & shield. (a) PMC. IX. iii
2. OBV. Diad. bust of king wearing flat kausia. (b)
REV. Zeus standing, holding sceptre & thunderbolt
(c) NC. 1923. Pl. XIV. 2

Æ

1. ^{sq.} OBV. Bust of king wearing elephant scalp. (b)
REV. Thunderbolt. (c) PMC. I. 26
2. OBV. Buckler with Gorgon's head.
REV. Trident. (a) IMC. I. 12
3. OBV. Elephant's head.
REV. Caduceus. (a) BMC. III. 2

NB. 'Bust of king and Seated Pallas', BMC. XXX. 2., seems to belong to the Seleucid Demetrius and is now removed from BM Indo-Greek series.

'Bust of king wearing elephant scalp and standing Pallas', IMC. p. 9, No. 5, is a mistake. Prof. J. N. Banerjea has kindly checked for me in the Indian Museum ~~Collection~~ collection of the Indo-Greek coins.

8. PANTALEON

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ (a)

Rajane Pantalevasa (b)

R

1. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r.

REV. Zeus seated, holding out a three-headed

Hecate.

(a)

BMC. XXX .4

NC.1923.Pl.XIV.3

Æ

1. OBV. Female deity (Yakṣī) ?, holding a small trisūla. (b)

sq. REV. Maneless lion, or leopard.

(a)

PMC. II. 35

2. OBV. Bust of young Dionysus to r.

REV. Panther touching a vine with raised paw.

(a)

BMC. III.8

NK

1. As Æ No. 2

BMC.p. 9.No.1

9. AGATHOCLES

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ (a)

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ (b)

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ (c)

Rajane Agathuklayasa¹ (d)

Akathukreyasa (e)

Hirañasame² (f)

R

1. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r.

REV. Zeus standing with sceptre, holding out
three-headed Hecate.

(a)

BMC IV. 4
PMC. II. 421. Some read sa as sa. There seems to be a clear medial e in le.2. It has been variously read as hidujasame, hitajasame.

2. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r.
 REV. Zeus standing with sceptre holding
 out three-headed Hecate. (B) BM ex Friedberg.
 Plate Appendix. Pl. I. 10

Æ

1. OBV. Female deity (Yakṣi ?) with trisūla (d)
 sq. REV. Maneless lion or leopard (a) PMC. II. 45
 BMC IV. 9
2. OBV. Bust of young Dionysus to r.
 REV. Panther touching a vine with
 raised paw. (a) BMC. IV. 8
3. OBV. Buddhist Stupa, surmounted by star (e)
 triangular REV. Tree in square railing (f) PMC. II. 52
4. OBV. Buddhist stupa, surmounted by star
 REV. A Conventional representation of PMC. II. 51
 plant,¹ (f) BMC. Anc. Ind., p. cxxxii

K

1. OBV. Bust of young Dionysus to r.
 REV. Panther as Æ 2. (a) PMC. II. 43

Commemorative Medals.

A

1. OBV. Head of Alexander to r. wearing lion's scalp.
 Legend. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ
 REV. Enthroned Zeus with sceptre, holding out eagle.
 (c) PMC. II. 41
2. OBV. Head of Antiochus to r.
 Legend. ANTIOΧΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ
 REV. Zeus striding, hurling thunderbolt. (c) CASE. II. 3

1. This coin may not be a coin struck by Agathocles himself, but a local Taxila coin which was the prototype of Æ 3 of the above list, cf. Allan, BMC. Ancient India., p. cxxxii. We are doubtful whether there is a legend on the Obverse side also.

3. OBV. Head of Diodotus I to r.

Legend. ΑΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ

REV. Zeus striding, hurling thunderbolt.(c). BMC. IV. 2

4. OBV. Head of Euthydemus to r.

Legend. ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ

REV. Heracles with club seated on rocks.(c) BMC. IV. 3

5. OBV. Head of Demetrius I wearing elephant scalp.

REV. Legend. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ

REV. Standing Heracles crowning himself.(c) NC. 1934, Pl. III.1

10. EUCRATIDES I.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ (a)

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ (b)

Maharajasa Evukratitasa (c)

Maharajasa mahatakasa Evukratitasa (d)

Maharajasa rajatirajasa Evukratitasa (e)

NB. ~~Coin-types~~ Coin-types marked with an aesterisk were probably not struck by Eucratides I but by some later king (Eucratides III ?) as suggested in the text, cf. supra., pp. 196-197

A

1. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r.

REV. Mounted Dioscuri charging. (b)

NC.1923.Pl. XIV.4

B

1. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r.

REV. Mounted Dioscuri charging. (a)

PMC. II. 63

2. OBV. Helmeted head of king to r.
REV. Mounted Dioscuri charging. (a) CASE. V. 3
3. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r.
REV. Mounted Dioscuri charging. (b) PMC. II. 64
4. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r.
REV. Two upright palm and the pilei. (a) PMC. II. 77
BMC. V. 10
5. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r.
REV. Two upright palms and the pilei. (a) PMC. II. 71
6. OBV. Helmeted bust with bare shoulder turned l.
and thrusting javelin.
REV. Mounted Dioscuri charging. (b) BMC. XXX. 8
JNSI. VI. Pl. II A. 1
7. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r. (b)
REV. The Dioscuri standing, holding spears
and swords. (d) BMC. XXX. 9
IMC. II. 9
8. OBV. Winged figure of Victory to r.
REV. Mounted Dioscuri charging.
Legend. Indistinct. CASE. V. 9

Æ

1. OBV. Helmeted Bust of king to r.
REV. Mounted Dioscuri charging. (b) PMC. III. 86
2. OBV. As No. 1
REV. Only one of the Dioscuri charging. (b). BMC. VI. 2
- 3.* OBV. Helmeted bust of king. (b)
sq. REV. Mounted Dioscuri charging. (c) PMC. III. 108
- 4.* OBV. Helmeted Bust of king. (b)
sq. REV. Nike standing to l. holding wreath
and palm. (e) IMC. II. 10
BMC. XXX. 12

5. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r.(b)
 sq. REV. Palms and pilei of the Dioscuri.(c) PMC. III.132
6. OBV. Helmeted bust of king turned to l.
 sq. thrusting javelin. (b)
 REV. Nike standing to r. (a) CASE. VI. 3
- 7.* OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r.
 sq. but with Legend ... C THP.. BM
 REV. Mounted Dioscuri charging PMC.p. 27. x.
- 8.* OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r. (b)
 sq. REV. Female deity (City ?) seated, holding
 palm, forepart of elephant in l.field,
 a conical object ~~κεκρυμμεν~~ which looks
 like a caitya or mountain (?) PMC. III.131
 Legend. Kaviṣiye nagara devata. NC. 1947, p. 30
 Plate Appendix,
 Pl. I. 9

Commemorative Medals.

A Twenty-stater piece

1. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r. Revue Numismatique, 1867
 REV. Mounted Dioscuri charging.(b) Pl. XII
 Seltmen, Greek Coins,
 Pl. LV . 5

R

1. OBV. Jugate busts of Heliocles and Laodice.
 Legend. ΗΑΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ
 REV. Helmeted bust of Eucratides to r.
 Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ PMC. IX. iv.
2. OBV. Jugate busts of Heliocles and Laodice.
 Legend. ΗΑΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ
 REV. Helmeted bust of king turned to l.,
 thrusting javelin.
 Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ. Hirsch Sale Catalogue,
 1912, Pl. XIV. 524
 Naville Sale. 5.
 Pl. LXXXI. No. 2896
 Plate Appendix. Pl. I. 7

11. PLATO

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ

A

1. OBV. Diademed bust of King to r.
REV. Helios (Mithra ?) on a quadriga. BM ex Friedberg
Plate Appendix. Pl. II. 2
2. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r.
REV. Helios (Mithra ?) on a quadriga. PMC. IX. v
3. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r.
REV. Helios (Mithra ?) standing to front. Unpublished. Unique.
Kunduz Hoard (Kabul Mus.)
4. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. Plate Appendix. Pl. II. 1
REV. Helios (Mithra ?) on a quadriga
fronting. do. Plate Appendix. Pl. II. 3

12. HELIOCLES I

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

A

1. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r.
REV. Zeus standing to front, holding
sceptre and thunderbolt. PMC. III. 133
- 2.¹ OBV. Helmeted head of king to r.
REV. Zeus enthroned, holding Victory. CASE. VI. 9

Æ (Barbarous)

1. OBV. Diademed head of king to r.
REV. Horse to l. PMC. III. 139

1. The portraiture is so crude that it is difficult to say whether it belongs to Heliocles II.

13. MENANDER.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ (a)
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ (b)
 Maharajasa tratarasa Menadrassa (c)
 Maharajasa dhramikasa Menadrassa (d)

A

1. OBV. In a bead and reel border, diademed bust of king (bare-headed) to r.
 REV. Pallas standing to l., hurling thunderbolt. Legend (a) but written in two vertical lines as on Attic tetradrachms of the early Indo-Greek kings. of Plate Appendix. Pl. II.7
Unpublished. Unique Attic tetradrachm in a collection of Mr. Aziz Boglu of Teheran.
2. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)
 REV. Pallas standing, hurling thunderbolt. (c) PMC. VI.375
3. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r. (a)
 REV. Pallas standing, hurling thunderbolt. (c) PMC. VI.379
4. OBV. Diademed bust of king thrusting javelin (a)
 REV. Pallas standing, hurling thunderbolt (c) PMC. VI.382
5. OBV. Helmeted bust of king thrusting javelin. (a)
 REV. Pallas standing, hurling thunderbolt (c) PMC. VI.479
6. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r. (a)
 REV. Owl to r. (c) PMG
JNSI. 1946, Pl. IV.3
NC. 1947. Pl. I.4
7. OBV. Helmeted bust of Pallas to r. (a)
 REV. Owl to r. (c) PMC. VI.480
8. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (b)
 REV. ~~Pallas~~ Nike to r., standing, holding wreath and palm. (d) PMC. VI.481

9. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r. (b)
 REV. Nike standing to r., holding wreath
 and palm. (d) NC.1923.p. 320.No. 6
~~IMC. V. 9~~
10. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r. (b)
 REV. King on prancing horse . (d) Whiteking Sale Cat.
 Pl. X. 964
 cf. Plate Appendix.
 Pl. II. 6

Æ

1. OBV. Helmeted bust of Pallas to r. (a)
 sq. REV. Nike standing to r., holding wreath
 and palm. (c) PMC. VI. 482
2. OBV. Helmeted warrior (king ?) standing
 sq. with spear and shield. (b)
 REV. Panther to r. (d) NC.1923.Pl. XIV. 8
3. OBV. Helmeted bust of Pallas (a)
 sq. REV. Buckler with Gorgon's head. (c) IMC. V. 9
 PMC. VI. 496
4. OBV. Helmeted bust of Pallas to r. (a)
 sq. REV. Pallas to l., hurling thunderbolt. (c) CASE. XII. 2
5. OBV. Helmeted bust of Pallas to r. (a)
 sq. REV. Horse prancing to r. (c) CASE. XII. 1
6. OBV. Helmeted bust of Pallas to r. (a)
 sq. REV. Owl to r. (c) CASE. XII. 4
7. OBV. Laurelled head of king to r.¹ (a)
 sq. REV. Dolphin . (c) CASE. XII. 6
 NC.1950.Pl. XII. 11
8. OBV. Diademed head of king thrusting
 sq. javelin. (a)
 REV. Pallas standing, hurling thunderbolt. (c) CASE. XII. 7.

1. Whitehead describes the figure as that of Poseidon. cf. NC.1950,
 pp. 214-15.

9. OBV. ~~Maneless~~ Elephant's head (a)
sq. REV. Club. (c) BMC. XII. 6
10. OBV. Elephant to l. (a)
sq. REV. Elephant's goad (c) CASE. XII. 10
11. OBV. Ox-head facing (a)
sq. REV. Tripod (c) CASE. XII. 9
12. OBV. Two-humped Bactrian Camel (a)
sq. REV. Bull's head. (c) CASE. XII. 8
13. OBV. Head of Boar with open mouth. (a)
sq. REV. Palm branch (c) CASE. XII. 12
14. OBV. Wheel (a)
sq. REV. Palm branch. (c) CASE. XII. 13
15. OBV. Pallas to l., holds patera(?) and
sq. ~~shkxkx~~ spear. ~~again skxwxkxkx~~ (b) BMC. p. 50, No. 74
REV. Maneless lion to l. (d) Ashmolean Museum, ex. J.B. Elliot.
16. OBV. Diademed head of king to l.
sq. thrusting javelin. (a)
REV. Nike standing, holding wreath
and palm. (c) Unpublished.
BM ex. Cunningham
17. OBV. Heracles' head (a)
sq. REV. Lion's skin (a) BM. ex. Cunningham
18. OBV. Diademed head of king to r. (a)
sq. REV. Nike to r. (c) H. de S. Shortt collection

Commemorative coin

AI

1. OBV. Bust of Pallas to r. wearing helmet.
REV. Horned Owl walking to r. with head facing.
No legend.

NC. 1940. Pl. VIII. 1
JNSI. 1949 .Pl. I. 2

16. STRATO I

- Legends. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΩΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ (a)
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ (b)
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ (c)
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ (d)
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ (e)
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ (f)
- Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa Agathukriae (g)
 Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa (h)
 Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratasa (i)
 Maharajasa pracachasa tratarasa Stratasa (j)

(A) AGATHOCLEIA & STRATO I.

R

1. OBV. Diademed bust of Queen to r. (a)
 REV. Armed Male figure (Menander or Strato ?) advancing r. (i) PMC. IX. vii
 NC. 1947. Pl. I.6
2. OBV. Conjugate busts of Strato and Agathocleia to r. (b)
 REV. Pallas standing, hurling thunderbolt. (g) NC. 1950. p. 215
3. OBV. Conjugate busts of Strato and Agathocleia to r. (b)
 REV. Pallas standing, hurling thunderbolt, (i) PMC. IX. vi

E

1. OBV. Bust of helmeted Pallas (Queen ?) to r. hair in ringlets. (a)
 REV. Heracles with club seated on rock. (i) PMC. V. 370
 NC. 1947. Pl. I.8

(B) STRATO I (FIRST PERIOD)

A

1. OBV. Bust of king diademed, to r. (d)
REV. Pallas standing, hurling thunderbolt. (i) PMC. V. 355
2. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r. (c)
REV. Pallas^a standing, hurling thunderbolt. (i) PMC. V. 359
3. OBV. Diademed bust of king, bearded, (d)
REV. Pallas standing, hurling thunderbolt. (i) NC.1948.Pl.IX.2,4
4. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (c)
REV. Pallas standing, hurling thunderbolt, (h) NC.1948.Pl.VIII.8
5. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (c)
REV. Pallas standing, hurling thunderbolt. (i) NC.1948.Pl.VIII.9
6. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r. (c)
REV. Pallas standing, hurling thunderbolt. (h) BMC. X. 12
7. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (e)
REV. Pallas standing, hurling thunderbolt. (i) NC.1948.Pl.VIII.6
8. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (e)
REV. Helmeted Pallas standing with spear,
holding out Nike. (i) NC.1948.Pl.VIII.5
9. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (f)
REV. Pallas standing, hurling thunderbolt. (j) PMC. V. 356
10. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r. (f)
REV. Pallas standing, hurling thunderbolt. (j) BMC. X. 10
11. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r. (e)
REV. Pallas standing, hurling thunderbolt. (i) NC.1948, Pl.IX.1
12. OBV. Diademed bust of king turned to l.,
thrusting javelin. (c)
REV. Pallas standing, hurling thunderbolt. (h) NC.1948.Pl.IX.5
13. OBV. Diademed bust of king turned to l.,
thrusting javelin. (c)
REV. Pallas standing, hurling thunderbolt. (i) NC.1948.Pl.IX.3

14. OBV. Diademed bust of king turned to l.,
thrusting javelin. (e)
REV. Pallas standing, hurling thunderbolt. (i) NC.1948.Pl.IX.6
15. OBV. Helmeted bust of king turned to l.,
thrusting Javelin (d)
REV. Pallas standing, hurling thunderbolt (i) NC.1948.Pl.IX.7
- ~~16. OBV.~~

Æ

1. OBV. Bust of Apollo tor., laureate,
hair in queue. (f)
REV. Bow and quiver ,with a strap (j) BMC. XI. 2
- 2.¹ OBV. Apollo standing, with bow and arrow. (f)
sq. REV. Tripod. (j) PMC. V. 364
3. OBV. Diademed bust of Heracles to r.,
sq. with club over shoulder (c)
REV. Nike standing, holding wreath and
and palm. (h) PMC. V. 367
4. OBV. Diademed bust of Heracles to r.,
sq. with club over shoulder. (d)
REV. Nike standing, holding wreath and
palm . (i) BMC. XI. 5

-
1. In the collection of Mr. H.de S.Shortt, there is a small round copper piece, poor condition, of the type resembling Æ 2 of the above list, but the figure is helmeted and may not be of Apollo but of a warrior (or king ?). There seem to be no trace of legend on the obverse but on the reverse Maharajasa..... Stratasa can be read. The legend is on three sides as on square coins.

17. EUCRATIDES II

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ. (a)

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ (b)

Α

1. OBV. Diademed head of king to r.
REV. Apollo standing to l., holding
arrow and bow. (a) PMC. II. 60
2. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. &
REV. Apollo standing to l., holding
arrow and bow. (b) NC.1947, Pl. I.1

Α

1. OBV. Head of Apollo to r., laureate.
REV. Horse standing l. (a) BMC. XXX 10

18. HELIOCLES II.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ (a)

Maharajasa dhramikasa Heliyakreasa¹ (b)

Α

1. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)
REV. Zeus standing, holding thunderbolt. (b) PMC. III. 147
2. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r. (a)
REV. Zeus standing, holding thunderbolt. (b) NC.1923. Pl. XIV.9
3. OBV. Diademed bust of king thrusting javelin. (a)
REV. Zeus standing, holding thunderbolt. (b) NC.1950. Pl. XII.7
4. OBV. Helmeted bust of king thrusting javelin. (a)
REV. Zeus standing, holding thunderbolt. (b) NC.1923, Pl. XIV.10

1. On some the name of king in Kharoṣṭhī written as Heliyakreyasa .

Æ

1. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)
 sq. REV. Elephant to l. (b) PMC. III. 148
2. OBV. Elephant to r. (a)
 sq. REV. Bull to ~~l~~ r. (b) PMC. III. 149

19. ARCHEBIUS.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ. (a)

Maharajasa dhramikasa jayadharasa Arkhebiyasa (b)

AR

1. OBV. Helmeted bust of king thrusting javelin. (a) Unpublished
 REV. Zeus standing with sceptre and thunderbolt. (a) Unique Tetradr.
 Plate Appendix
 Pl. III. 12
2. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)
 REV. Zeus standing, hurling thunderbolt. (b) PMC. IV. 226
3. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r. (a)[±]
 REV. Zeus standing, hurling thunderbolt (b) BMC. IX. 3
4. OBV. Diademed bust of king thrusting javelin. (a)
 REV. Zeus standing, hurling thunderbolt (b) PMC. IV. 229
5. OBV. Helmeted bust of king thrusting javelin. (a)
 REV. ZEUS standing, hurling thunderbolt. (b) BMC. IX. 4

Æ

1. OBV. Head of Zeus with sceptre over shoulder. (a)
 sq. REV. Pilei and palms of the Dioscuri (b) PMC. IV. 230
2. OBV. Helmeted head of king to r. (a) Unpublished. Unique
 sq. REV. Pilei and palms of the Dioscuri (b) H. de S. Shortt.
3. OBV. Nike holding wreath and palm (a)
 REV. Owl. (b) BMC. IX. 6
4. OBV. Elephant to r. (a)
 REV. Owl. (b) BMC. IX. 7

20. ANTIMACHUS II.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ (a)

Maharajasa jayadharasa Antimakhasa (b)

AR

1. OBV. Winged Nike to l. with palm and wreath. (a)
REV. King on prancing horse to r. (b) PMC. VII 557

2.

AE

1. OBV. Aegis with Gorgon's head (a)
sq, REV. Wreath and palm. (b) PMC. VII.573

21. PHILOXENUS.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ. (a)

Maharajasa apadhatasa Philasinasa (b)

AR

1. OBV. Diademed head of king to r. Attic Tetradrachm.
REV. King on prancing horse to r. (a) Unpublished, Unique.
Plate Appendix
Pl. IV.1
- 2.¹ OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)
REV. King on prancing horse to r. (b) PMC. VII. 576
- 3.² OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r. (a)
REV. King on prancing horse to r. (b) PMC. VII. 577
- 4.³ OBV. Helmeted bust of king thrusting javelin. (a).
REV. King on prancing horse (b) NC.1923.Pl. XVI. 12

-
1. Also silver square coin of this type, cf. PMC. VII. 583.
2. Also silver square coin of this type, cf. PMC. VII. 578
3. Also silver square coin of this type, cf. JNSI. ~~19~~ ¹⁰ Pl. XIII A.5
Pl. IV

Æ

1. OBV. Demeter standing to l., with cornucopiae. (a)
- sq. REV. Bull to r. (b) PMC. VII.590
2. OBV. Sun-god facing (a)
- sq. REV. Nike to r. (b) BMC. XIII.9

22. ZOILUS I.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΖΟΙΛΟΥ. (a)
 Maharajasa dhramikasa Jhoilasa (b)

AR

1. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)
- REV. Heracles standing, holding out wreath. (b) PMC. VII. 524
2. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)
- REV. Heracles as No.1 above, but a little figure of Nike on his l. shoulder (b) PMC. VII. 525

Æ

1. OBV. Bust of Heracles to r. (a)
- sq. REV. Bow-in-case and club. (b) NC.1950.Pl.XII.10

23. LYSIAS.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΛΥΣΙΟΥ. (a)
 Maharajasa apaḍihatasa Lisiasa (b)

AR

1. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. wearing elephant-scalp. Attic Tetradrachm. Unpublished. ~~Μικτήρι~~
- REV. Heracles standing, crowning himself. (a) Kabul Museum ex Kunduz Plate Appendix.

2. OBV. Helmeted bust of king turned to l.,
thrusting javelin, drapery over shoulder. Attic Tetradrachm.
Unpublished.
REV. Heracles standing, crowning himself. (a) Kabul Museum ex Kund
Plate Appendix.
3. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)
REV. Heracles standing, crowning himself. (b) BMC. VIII. 5
4. OBV. Diad. bust of king, wearing elephant-scalp. (a)
REV. Heracles standing, crowning himself. (b) PMC. III. 150
5. OBV. Diad. bust of king to r. wearing flat kausia. (a)
REV. Heracles standing, crowning himself (b) PMC. III. 156
6. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r. (a)
REV. Heracles standing, crowning himself (b) PMC. III. 154
7. OBV. Helmeted bust turned to l. thrusting
javelin. (a)
REV. Heracles standing, crowning himself. (b) NC. 1923. Pl. ^{XV}~~XIV~~. 7

Æ

- 1.¹ OBV. Bust of Heracles to r. (a)
sq. REV. Elephant to r. (b) PMC. III. 157
- 2.² OBV. Bust of bearded Heracles to r.,
sq. Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΑΥΞΙΟΥ
REV. Pilei and palms of the Dioscuri,
Legend. Maharajasa jayadharasa Amtialikitasa.
BMC. XXXI. 2.
Ashmolean Museum.

-
1. A round coin of this type, cf. BMC. VIII. 8
2. This coin-type is a mule. cf. supra., p. 185

24. ANTIAlCIDAS.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΑΝΚΙΔΟΥ. (a)

Maharajasa jayadharasa Antialikidasa (b)

A

1. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r.
REV. Zeus enthroned holding Nike, a small elephant's forepart in l. field. (a) Attis Tetradrachm BMC. VII. 9
2. OBV. Helmeted head of king to r. Attic Tetradrachm.
REV. As on No. 1 above. (a) Unpublished.
Kabul Museum. ex Kunduz
Plate Appendix. Pl. IV. 4
- 3.¹ OBV. Diad. bust of king wearing flat kausia.
REV. As on No. 1 above, but legend written ²(a) Do. Pl. IV. 5
4. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)
REV. As on No. 1 above but Zeus holding wreath and palm only, not Nike, and a small elephant shown vertically* in l. field.³ (b) BMC. VII. 10
5. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r. (a)
REV. As on No. 1 above (b) PMC. III. 189
6. OBV. Diad. bust of king, wearing flat kausia. (a)
REV. As on No. 1 above. (b) PMC. III. 170
7. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)
REV. Elephant walking l., Nike on head, in foreground Zeus standing with sceptre (b) NC. 1923, Pl. XV. 5
8. OBV. Diademed bust of king, thrusting javelin (a)
REV. As on No. 7 above. (b) NC. 1947, Pl. I. 5

1. An Attic drachm of this type was known already, cf. CASE. VIII. 6

2. This is also the arrangement on ~~xxxxxxthexxxpexkmenxxfxtypexNoy2~~
~~xfxxthexxakxxkixkxxkxx~~ from some ~~xxxx~~ Attic tetradrachms of other kings in the Kunduz hoard. cp. Plate Appendix.

3. The elephant, Nike and her wreath and palm are shown in various positions on the bilingual coins of Antialcidas, cf. supra., pp. 92-95

Æ

- 1.¹ OBV. Undraped bust of Zeus, hurling thunderbolt. (a)
 REV. Pilei and palms of the Dioscuri (b) PMC. IV. 193
2. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)
 sq. REV. Elephant standing to r. (b) PMC. IV. 212

25. APOLLODOTUS

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ²(a)
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ. (b)
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ (c)
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ (d)
 Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa (e)

Α

- 1.² OBV. Elephant to r. (a) PMC. IV. 231
 REV. Humped bull to r. (e) PMC. IV. 236
2. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)
 REV. Pallas hurling thunderbolt. (e) PMC. IV. 263
3. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (b)
 REV. As on No. 3 above. (e) PMC. IV. 276
4. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (c)
 REV. As on No. 3 above (e) BMC. X.1

Æ

1. OBV. *Within a wreath, Apollo standing to r. holding bow and arrow* (d)
 REV. Tripod. (e)

NC. 1947 p. 143

1. Square coins of this type show the thunderbolt over Zeus' left
 2. Both round and square coins of this type are known. *left shoulder*

2. OBV. Apollo facing, holding arrow and bow. (a)
sq. REV. Tripod lebes. (e) PMC. IV.307
- 3.¹ OBV. Apollo standing, holding out an arrow,
quiver at his back. (a)
REV. Tripod. (e) PMC. V. 322
4. OBV. Apollo facing, holding arrow and bow. (b)
sq. REV. Tripod. (e) PMC. V.353
5. OBV. Apollo with bow and arrow. No legend.
sq. REV. Tripod. (e) BM
6. OBV. Apollo with bow and arrow. No legend.
sq. REV. Royal Diadem. (e) CASE. Pl. IX.7
7. OBV. Apollo seated to r. on throne (a)
sq. REV. Tripod (e) CASE. IX. 12
8. OBV. Humped Bull . No legend
sq. REV. Tripod. No legend. BMC. IX. 13

26. NICIAS

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΞΑΝΘΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΙΟΥ. (a)

Maharajasa tratarasa Nikiasa (b)

AR

1. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)
REV. ~~King facing~~ Pallas facing,
brandishing thunderbolt. (b) NC.1940.Pl.VIII.4
2. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)
REV. Warrior(king ?) fully accoutred,
to l., holding palm (b) PMC. VII. 599
3. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r. (a)
REV. As on No. 2 above. (b) NC.1923.Pl. XVI.13

1. On some coins of this type legend arranged as on square coins.
cf. PMC. V. 388.

4. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r. (a)
REV. Pallas facing, brandishing thun derbolt (b) JNSI. IX.PL. III.1

Æ

1. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)
sq. REV. King on a prancing horse. (b) PMC. VII. 602
2.¹ OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)
sq. REV. Dolphin twined round anchor (b) BMC. XIII. 12
3. OBV. Head of Poseidon to r., trident on shoulder (a)
sq. REV. Dolphin twined round anchor (b) NC.1923.PL.XVI.14

27. HIPPOSTRATUS.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣ ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ. (a)

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΣΤΗΡΟΣ ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ. (b)

Maharajasa tratarasa Hipustratasa (c)

Maharajasa ~~ἵππος~~ tratarasa jayamtasa Hipustratasa (d)

Maharajasa tratarasa mahatasa jayamtasa Hipustratasa.
(e)

Α

1. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)
REV. City goddess to l. carrying cornucopiae (c) PMC. VIII.606
2. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (b)
REV. King on prancing horse. (e) PMC. VIII.610
3. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)
REV. King on prancing horse (d) PMC. VIII.616

-
1. This seems to be the same type as No. Æ 3 of Nicias of the above list. The BMC, XIII.12. is not distinct, but the obv. figure is more like Poseidon than king; traces of trident also.

AE

- 1.¹ OBV. APOLLO to r. carrying arrow in
both hands. (a)
REV. Tripod. (c) PMC. VIII. 628
2.
sq. OBV. Deity on square-backed throne (a)
REV. Horse standing to r. (d) PMC. VIII. 629
3. OBV. Triton holding dolphin and rudder (a)
sq. REV. City goddess to l. with mural
crown and palm. (c) PMC. VIII. 631

28. ZOILUS II.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΓΑΤΗΡΟΣ ΖΟΙΛΟΥ ²(a) .
Maharajasa tratarasa Jhoilasa (b)

AR

1. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)
REV. Pallas to l., hurling thunderbolt (b) PMC. VII. 534
- 2x ~~OBVx~~

AE

1. OBV. Apollo standing, holding ~~xxx~~ arrow,
a quiver at his back. l. field - a small
elephant. ³ (a) BMC. XII.12
REV. Tripod. (b) BMC. XII.13
2. OBV. Elephant moving to r. No legend.
REV. Tripod. (b) PMC. VII.546
3. OBV. Elephant moving to r. No legend.
REV. Standing male figure. fragmentary
legendJhoilasa.... ?(b) NC.1923.p.333.No.51

1. Square specimens of this type also known, cf. PMC. VIII. 627
2. Notice the irregularity in lettering, cp. BMC. & PMC.
3. Also square coins. On some no elephant. cf. BMC. XII.13

4. OBV. Elephant walking r., fragmentary Kh.

sq. legend.. ... (jho)ila.... ? (b)

REV. Standing male figure. No legend.

NC. 1923, p. 333. No. 50

5. OBV. Apollo standing to r., holding bow,
legend rubbed.

REV. Elephant to r. Fragmentary legend
probably (b)

Fitzwilliam Museum.
NC. 1940, p. 111. No. 10

29. DIONYSIUS.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΑΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΩΝΥΣΙΟΥ (a)

A

Maharajasa tratarasa Diyanisiasa (b)

R

1. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)

REV. Pallas l., hurling thunderbolt (b)

BMC. XII. 9

Æ

1. OBV. Apollo to r. holding arrow (a)

sq. REV. Tripod. (b)

PMC. VII. 520

¹
2. OBV. Apollo in an incuse square.

sq. No legend.

REV. Royal Diadem

(b)

PMC. VII. 521

1. Whitehead, PMC, p. 65. notes that it may belong to Apollodotus, but a coin in BM. gives the legend clear.

30. APOLLOPHANES.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑΝΟΥ (a)
 Maharajasa tratarasa Apulaphanasa¹ (b)

R

1. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r., diadem
 tied round the helmet.² (a)

REV. Pallas l., hurling thunderbolt.(b)

BMC. XIII. 1
 JNSI 19 .Pl. XIII A.3

31. STRATO I & STRATO II.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝ (a)
 Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa potrasa
 casa priyapita Stratasa³ (b)

R

1. OBV. Diademed bust of aged king to r. (a)

REV. Pallas to l. hurling thunderbolt (b)

PMC. VIII. 643

* Lead.

OBV. Apollo to r. holding arrow in both hands.(a ?)

REV. Tripod,

(Kh.leg. ?) PMC.p.81.No.645

1. Some read Apalapinasa.

2. On some coins the helmet is plain and modern-looking.

3. cf. Rapson, Corolla Numismatica, Oxford. 1906.p.254-55

32. ARTEMIDORUS.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΡΟΥ (a)

Maharajasa apaḍihatasa Atrimitorasa (b)

AR

1. OBV. Diademed bust of kin to r. (a)
REV. Artemis to l. shooting arrow. (b) PMC. VII. 551
2. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r. (a)
REV. Artemis to l. shooting arrow. (b) NC.1947.Pl. II.4
3. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)
REV. Nike holding wreath and palm. (b) PMC. VII. 553

Æ

1. OBV. Artemis facing, ~~holding~~ drawing arrow
sq. from quiver at back. (a)
REV. Bull to r. (b) PMC. VII. 555
2. OBV. Male figure to front. (a)
sq. REV. Panther to l. (b) NC.1923.XVII.3
3. OBV. Artemis to l holding out bow. (a)
sq. REV. Bull to r. (b) NS. XIV.
PMC.p. 69

33. PEUCOLAUS.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΕΥΘΡΟΣ ΠΕΥΚΟΛΑΟΥ. (a)

Maharajasa dhramikasa tratatrasa Pēukulasa (b)

AR

1. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)
REV. Zeus standing to l, holding long sceptre. (b) NC.1923.Pl.XV.4

Æ

1. OBV. Artemis standing, drawing arrow from
sq. quiver at back. (a)
REV. Crowned City goddess, holding palm. (b) PMC. VIII. 642

34. TELEPHUS.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΤΗΛΕΦΟΥ (a)

Maharajasa Kalanakramasa Teliphasa. (b)

R

1. OBV. Serpent footed Giant (Yakṣa ?) (a)
 REV. Helios radiate facing, holding long
 sceptre, beside him another Male
 figure (b) Ashmolean Museum.
 BMC. XXXII.7

Æ

1. OBV. Zeus enthroned with long sceptre. (a)
 REV. Male figure walking to r., long
 spear on l. shoulder. (b) PMC. VIII. 640
2. OBV. Zeus enthroned with long sceptre. (a)
 REV. Squatting Male figure . (b) NC.1923.Pl.XVII.6

35. THEOPHILUS.Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ^L (a)

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ (b)

Maharajasa dhramikasa Theuphilasa (c)

A

1. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. Attic Tetradrachm.
 REV. Helmeted Pallas, seated, holding out Nike. (b) UNpublished. Kabul
 Museum ex Kunduz.
 Plate Appendix.
 Pl. V. 1
2. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)
 REV. Heracles crowning himself. (b) PMC. IX. viii

A

1. OBV. Bust of Heracles to r. (a)
 REV. Cornucopiae. (b) PMC. VIII. 632

1. & On some coins Θ is written in squared form Θ .cf. NC.1923.XVII.1

2. OBV. Bust of Heracles wearing lion's skin.(a)

sq. REV. Club.

(b) PMC. VIII. 634
NC.1923.Pl.XVII. 1

36. DIOMEDES.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥ. (a)

Maharajasa tratarasa Diyumetasa (b)

℞

1. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)

REV. Mounted Dioscuri charging (b) PMC. IV. 213

2. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r. (a)

REV. Mounted Dioscuri charging. (b) PMC. IV. 215

3. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)

REV. Dioscuri standing, holding long spears.(b) BMC. VIII.10

4. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r. (a)

REV. As on No. 4 above. (b) PMC.p.37, No. 217

5. OBV. Helmeted bust of king, thrusting javelin.(a)

REV. Dioscuri mounted, charging. (b) NC.1923.Pl.XVI.10

℞

sq. OBV. Dioscuri standing. (a)

REV. Humped Bull to r. (b) PMC. IV. 220

37. AMYNTAS.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ (a)

Maharajasa jayadharasa Amitasa (b)

A

1. OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. (a)
REV. Zeus enthroned, with long sceptre, holding
out ~~Nike~~ Pallas.¹ (b) PMC. VIII. 636
2. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r. (a)
REV. Pallas l., hurling thunderbolt. (b) BMC. XIV. 9
3. OBV. Diademed bust of king, wearing flat kausia. (a)
REV. Zeus enthroned, holding out ^{Pallas} ~~Nike~~. (b) CASE. XIII. 2
4. OBV. Diademed bust of king, thrusting javelin. (a)
REV. Zeus enthroned, holding out ^{Pallas} ~~Nike~~ (b) CASE. p. 280. No. 3
Also, H. de S. Shortt.
5. OBV. Helmeted bust of king, thrusting Javelin. (a)
REV. Zeus enthroned, holding out Pallas. (b) NC. 1923. Pl. XVI. 7

A

1. OBV. Bust of king to r. in Phrygian cap.² (a)
sq. REV. Draped figure of Pallas to l. (b) PMC. VIII. 637
~~xxxx~~REV.

Commemorative Medals.

A

1. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r.
REV. Zeus enthroned, holding out Pallas (a)
 2. OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r.
REV. Demeter enthroned, holding cornucopiae. (a)
- These two large silver pieces are 20 Attic drachms; the largest silver known in any Greek series. They are in Kabul Museum, ex Kunduz. cf. A. D. H. Bivar, Numismatic Circular, vol. LXI, No. 5
Also, JNSI, 1953, Pl. IX 1-2

1. Zeus never holds Nike on Amyntas' coin. Mistake in BMC & PMC descriptions

38. HERMAEUS.¹

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ. (a)

Maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa (b)

A

- | | | | |
|----|--|-----|---|
| 1. | OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. | | Attic Tetradrachm. |
| | REV. Zeus enthroned to l., with long
sceptre. | (a) | Unpublished, Kabul
Museum ex Kunduz.
Plate Appendix. Pl. V. 4 |
| 2. | OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. | (a) | |
| | REV. Zeus enthroned to l. | (b) | PMC. IX. 649 |
| 3. | OBV. Helmeted bust of king to r. | (a) | |
| | REV. Zeus enthroned to l. | (b) | CASE. XIV. 8
BMC. XV. 5 |
| 4. | OBV. King ² on prancing horse | (a) | |
| | REV. Enthroned Zeus to l. | (b) | NC. 1947. Pl. II. 5 |

B

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-----|---------------|
| 1. | OBV. Diademed bust of king to r. | (a) | |
| | REV. Zeus enthroned. | (b) | PMC. IX. 666 |
| 2. | OBV. Bust of king in Phrygian cap. | (a) | |
| sq. | REV. Horse standing to r. | (b) | PMC. IX. 679 |
| 3. | OBV. King on horseback to r., No legend. | | |
| sq. | REV. No type. Only name of Hermaeus in
Greek,ΑΙΟΥ... | | CASE. XIV. 10 |

HERMAEUS with CALLIOPE

A

- | | | | |
|----|---|--|--------------|
| 1. | OBV. Conjugate diademed busts of Hermaeus and Calliope. | | |
| | Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΟΝΗΣ. | | |
| | REV. King on prancing horse to r. | | |
| | Legend. Maharajasa tratarasa Hermayasa Kaliyapaya. | | PMC. IX. 693 |

1. I have not included the coins with ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ Y legend and of Nike type.

A CHART SHOWING THE INDO-GREEK KINGS IN
GENEALOGICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT.

N.B. The relationships and dates given below are based on the conclusions reached in this work. All dates are approximate and many are hypothetical.

DIODOTUS I (256-248)

DIODOTUS II (248-235)

=====

ANTIMACHUS I (190-180)

⋮

DEMETRIUS II (180-165)

⋮

MENANDER = AGATHOCLEIA
 (see below)

⋮

STRATO I
 (130-95)

⋮

STRATO I & STRATO II
 (80-75)

APOLLODOTUS (115-95)

⋮

⋮ ZOILUS II ⋮
 ⋮ DIONYSIUS ⋮ (95-80)
 ⋮ APOLLOPHANES ⋮

ANTIMACHUS II (130-125)

⋮

PHILOXENUS (125-115)

⋮

NICIAS (95-85)

⋮

HIPPOSTRATUS (85-70)
 CALLIOPE

=====

EUTHYDEMUS I (235-200)

DEMETRIUS I
 (200-185)

⋮

PANTALEON
 (185-175)

⋮

ZOILUS I

⋮

LYSIAS (120-110)

⋮

THEOPHILUS (-85)

EUTHYDEMUS II

⋮

⋮

AGATHOCLES
 (180-165)
 ⋮
 AGATHOCLEIA
 (see above)

EUCRATIDES I (171-155)

⋮

PLATO

HELIOCLES I

⋮ (155-140)

EUCRATIDES II
 (155-140)

⋮

ARCHEBIUS
 (130-120)

HELIOCLES II
 ⋮ (120-115)

ANTIALCIDAS

⋮

DIOMEDES
 (95-85)

⋮

AMYNTAS (85-75)

TELEPHUS
 (95-80)

⋮

CALLIOPE = HERMAEUS (75-55)
 (see above)

=====

Relationship Uncertain : POLYXENUS, EPANDER, ARTEMIDORUS & PEUCOLAUS.

INDEX TO PLATES.

N.B. For full description see Appendix. III .

PLATE I.

1. Demetrius I. Obv.
2. Antimachus I. Obv.* ex. Kunduz hoard.
3. Antimachus I. Obv.
4. Antimachus I. Obv.
5. Demetrius II. Obv.*
6. Demetrius II. Obv. of the Bilingual Tetradrachm.
7. Eucratides I. Obv. & Rev.
8. An Eucratides overstrike on Apollodotus. (enlarged)
9. The coin with the legend Kaviṣiye Nagara Devata. (Rev.)
10. Agathoxles. (Rev.)

PLATE II

1. Plato. Obv. & Rev.
2. Plato. Obv. & Rev.
3. Plato. Obv. & Rev.
4. Heliocles I. Obv.
5. Eucratides II. Obv.
6. Menander. Obv. & Rev.
7. Menander. Obv. & Rev. Attic Tetradrachm.

xx*Note the bead and reel border.

PLATE III.

1. Strato I. (young bust) Obv.
2. Strato I and Agathocleia. Obv. & Rev.
3. Strato I Obv.
4. Strato I. Obv.
5. Agathocleia. Obv. & Rev.
6. Strato I (bearded bust) Obv.
7. Strato I (old age) Obv.
8. Strato I (middle age) Obv.
9. Strato I (middle age) Obv.
10. Strato I ~~with~~ (Struck jointly with Strato II) Obv.
11. Strato I (struck jointly with Strato II) Obv.
12. Archebius. Obv. & Rev. Attic Tetradrachm. ex. Kunduz hoard.
13. Heliocles II . Obv.
14. Heliocles II. Obv.

PLATE. IV.

- | | | | |
|----|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. | Philoxenus. | Attic Tetradrachm | ex. Kunduz hoard. |
| 2. | Lysias | do | do |
| 3. | Lysias | do | do |
| 4. | Antialcidas | do | do |
| 5. | Antialcidas | Obv. | |
| 6. | Apollodotus | Obv. | |
| 7. | Hippostratus | Obv. | |

PLATE V.

1. Theophilus . Attic Tetradrachm. Ex. Kunduz Hoard.
2. ~~Hek~~ Amyntas 20-drachm piece. do
3. Amyntas do do
(Rev. only)
4. Hermaeus Attic Tetradrachm Ex. Kunduz hoard.
5. Roman Busts on Kujula Kadhphises Coins.
6. A coin of Claudius ~~wikk~~ showing the curule chair.
7. Kujula Kadphises, Rev. deity on a curule chair.

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YUGAPURĀṆA

See s.v. JAYASWAL and MANKAD



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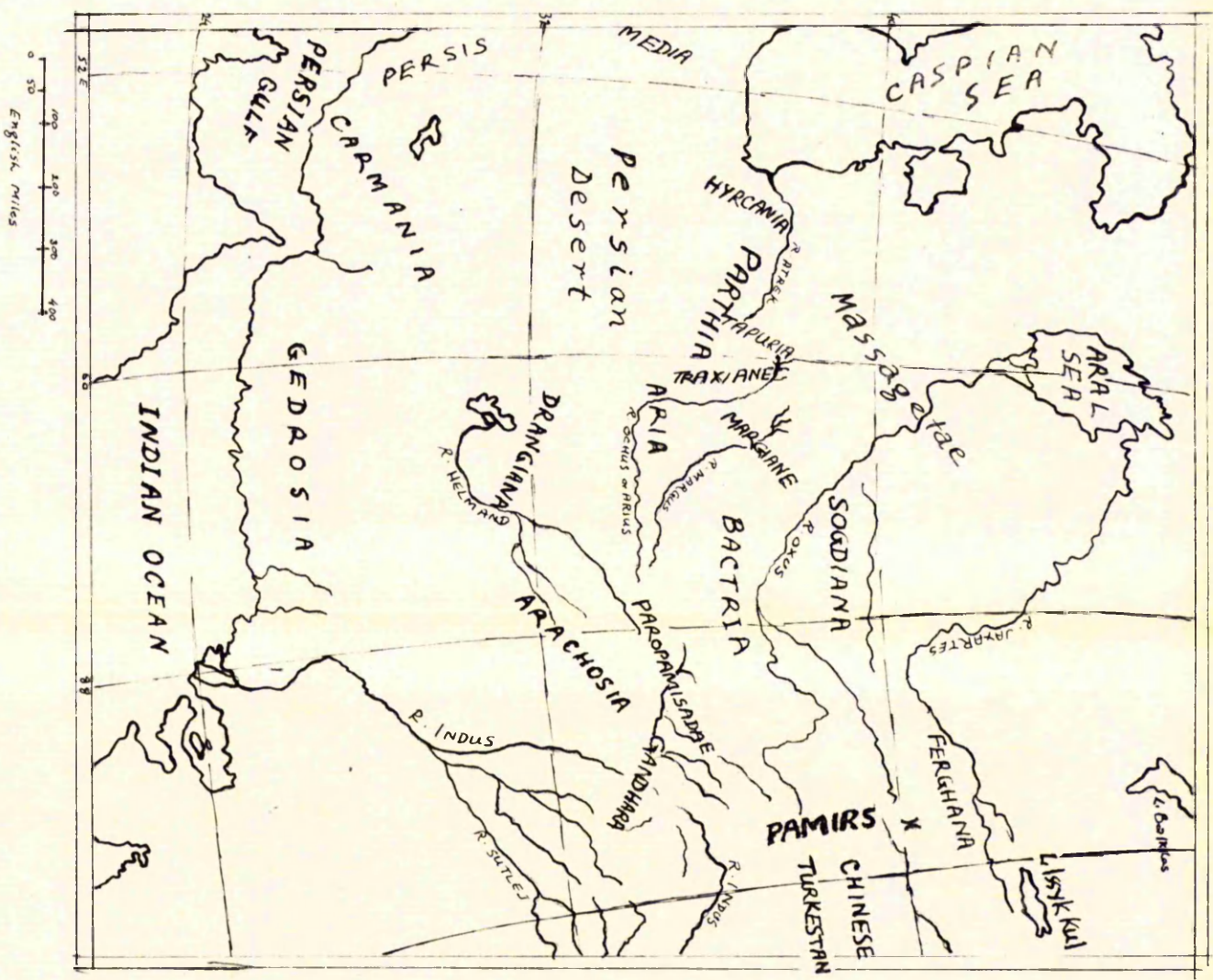
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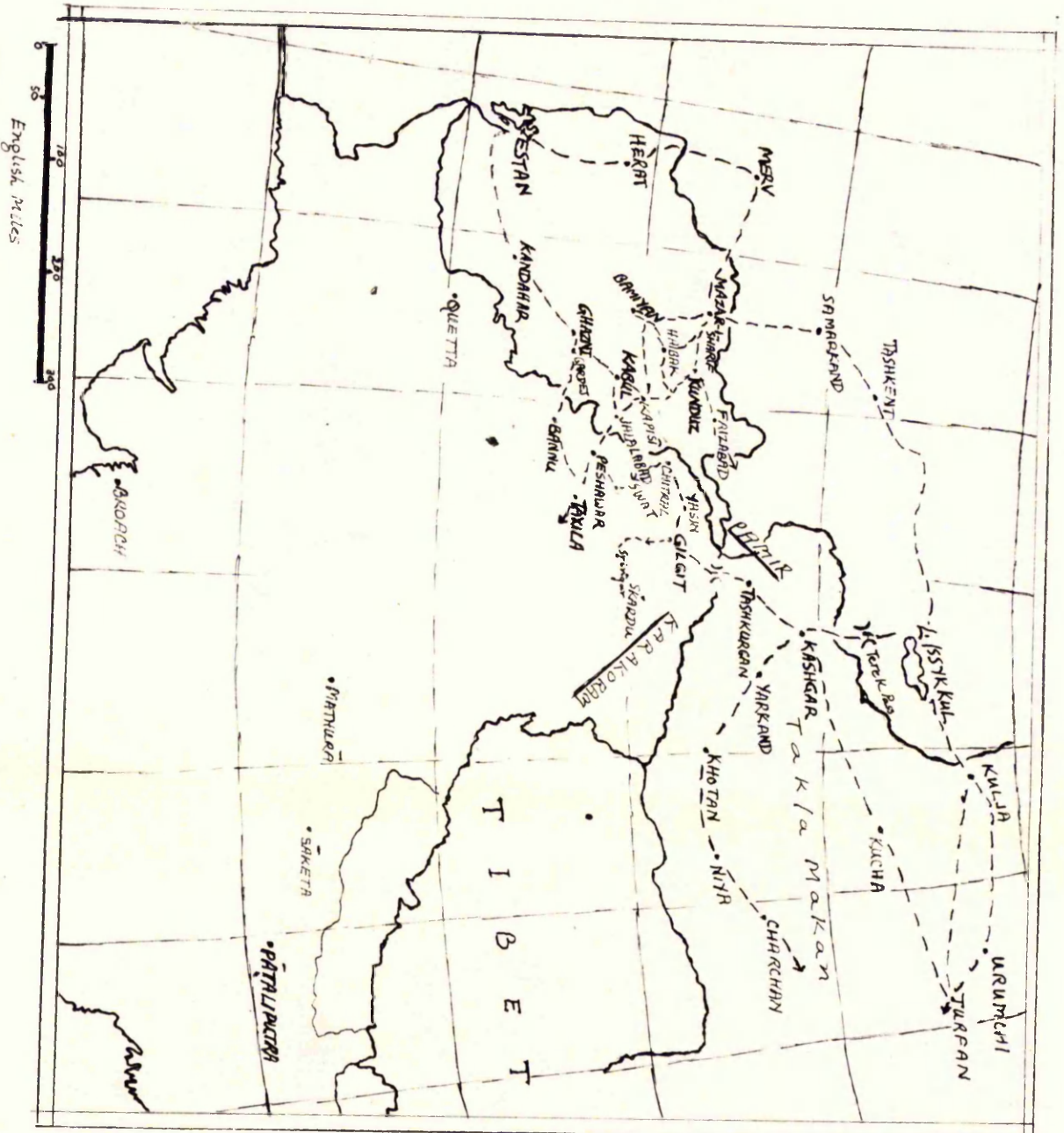


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MAP I
BACTRIA AND THE
SURROUNDING REGIONS.





MAP III
INDIA AND ADJACENT COUNTRIES
 SHOWING IMPORTANT ROUTES USED BY
 YAVANAS, ŚAKAS, PHLAVAS & YUEH-CHIH'S.